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- ART. I. — 1. *Lehrbuch der Christlichen Dogmatik, in ihren historischen Entwicklung dargestellt.* Von D. WILHELM MARTIN LEBERECHE DE WETTE. 2 Theile. Berlin, 1830, 1821. *Manual of Doctrinal Christianity in its Historical Development.*
2. *Ueber Religion und Theologie. Erläuterungen zu seinem Lehrbuche der Dogmatik.* Von DR. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Berlin, 1821. *On Religion and Theology. Illustrations of his Manual of Doctrinal Christianity.*
3. *Ueber die Religion, ihr Wesen, ihre Erscheinungsformen, und ihren Einfluss auf das Leben.* Vorlesungen von DR. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Berlin, 1817. *Lectures on Religion in its Essence, its Manifestations, and its Influence on Life.*

IN a former article we have given an outline of De Wette's views of Religion, as it is in Itself, its Manifestations, and its Influence on Life. Bearing these views still in mind, we would now contemplate the author's further development of them, and examine his opinions on the leading subjects in Christian Theology.

The Bible, it is well said by a distinguished Orthodox divine, holds the same relation to religious truth, that the material world holds to physical science. It is the repository of the great facts in man's religious experience, as the latter is of the facts of observation. Wise and rare indeed is the Theologian,

who comes to the study of the Bible with the same earnestness, that the natural philosopher brings to the study of the visible creation, and who is willing to seek the great elements of spiritual truth in the inspired volume, just as the latter seeks to learn the laws of the elemental powers of nature around him.

To do this is the great aim of De Wette's theological labors, — to show the elements of religion as manifested in the Holy Scriptures, and to show them fairly and fully in the life. He brings to the work a true eclectic spirit, and seeks to do justice to every part of the truth. He is neither bigot nor skeptic, neither mystic nor idealist. He looks to the Christian Records in their literal historic light, and yet avoids the errors of those mere letter critics, who, on the one hand, fall into a spiritless, irrational dogmatism, and, on the other hand, sink into a grovelling skeptical Naturalism.* He regards Christianity as a revelation of the eternal ideas of the Universal Reason, but avoids the error of those, who place all faith merely in certain abstract ideas, and thus maintain a cold rationalism, that degenerates into a mere worldly morality, or an airy and vague idealism, and deprives Christianity of its strong foundation in the heart's affections and in actual historic proof. He regards Religion as resting in great part upon the heart's feelings, and yet avoids that mysticism, which gives to faith no foundation in reason or in fact, and makes it a matter of vague feeling. He seeks to do justice to every element of Christianity, and to find its basis, alike in fact, feeling, and reason.

Our author's classification of Theology is very simple and comprehensive. He divides it very naturally into *scientific* and *practical* — the former having for its object the investigation of religious truth, the latter having for its object the culture of religion in man — and both bearing the same relation to each other as Theory and Art. Scientific Theology again is divided according to the two elements of which religion is composed; it is, in the first place, *philosophical*, in so far as it investigates the capacity of man for religion and those universal religious ideas, which belong to the Reason; in the second place, it is *historical*, in so far as it relates to the past revelations of re-

* Some writers persist in calling De Wette a Naturalist. There is no doctrine that he more strongly opposes than Naturalism.

ligion in history ; thirdly, the historic and philosophical elements, put together, constitute *Systematic Theology*.*

Parallel with Theology proper stands Moral Theology, which first philosophically investigates the general principles of Ethics ; secondly, investigates their history, especially that of Christian Ethics ; and, finally, develops Christian Morals systematically, both according to Reason and History.

Of De Wette's views of Moral Theology we shall say nothing in the present article, except remark the wonderful research and comprehension, which his great work on Christian Morals exhibits, and the eloquence and popular persuasiveness, which his Lectures on the same subject show. Nor can we follow him in his view of the several subjects of Christian Theology, as they come respectively under his notice. Of his view of philosophical Theology, or of the elements of religion in the human soul, enough has been said in the previous article. Here we can only glance at his view of Christianity as an authoritative, historic revelation, and then sketch his opinions on some of the main points of Christian doctrine. In conclusion, we may perhaps say a word as to his ideas concerning the practical application of religion to the hearts of men. We will try to be just to our author's opinions, although we must abridge his words.

I. Christianity comes to us through history. The tree of life has its root in an historical ground. Theology therefore must of necessity have an historical form, and must result from a full and free investigation of the Christian records. There are many, who are strongly opposed to a free investigation of these records, and opposed on widely different grounds. Some are afraid that the sanctity of revelation will be harmed by a free inquiry into the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures, and are alarmed at the bold steps in this inquiry, which sacred criticism has already taken. These should remember, that truth shrinks not from free inquiry, that some critical doubts concerning the authorship of the records of a revelation do not necessarily call in question the truths of the revelation itself, and that it is the part of hearty faith in Christianity to en-

* Our principal authority for the opinions in this article is the "*Religion und Theologie*." The outline of the second part of the work is given in this article very nearly.

courage investigation, and rejoice in all light, that scholars and philosophers can shed upon it. If unbelievers seek to disparage the authority of Christianity, then there is all the more opportunity and encouragement for the faithful to show themselves champions of the truth.

Those, on the other hand, who shrink from free inquiry into the sacred books, because they have little trust in their historic truth, and regard them only in a figurative or symbolic light, and fear that strict criticism will destroy their poetic and devotional charm, are in an obvious error. They do away with the historical basis of a religion, whose appearance marks the most important epoch in the history of man, and which has left its traces in all subsequent history.

Yet although we claim strict historic truth for the foundation of the Christian records, it must be allowed, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between that which is figurative or symbolic, and that which is strict historical fact; as, for instance, in regard to some of the parables, relating to future retribution, and in regard to the miraculous Conception. But this difficulty is much obviated by the consideration, that the historic credibility of any statement is not lessened necessarily by giving it a symbolic signification, nor is the symbolic or spiritual meaning destroyed by our believing the statement as a historic fact. Surely, as long as a man will allow the ideas which are declared in the New Testament, we ought not to quarrel with him, whatever opinions he may have of any historic facts. If, for instance, a man believes in the divine dignity of our Savior, and that the spirit of the Father was in him, it is comparatively immaterial what he may think of that passage of questioned authenticity, which speaks of the miraculous conception of the Son of God.

Of course the most important point in historical Theology is that which relates to the external evidence of Christianity, or its alleged miracles. Upon this point, De Wette has much to say, and herein a great excellence of his system appears. He looks upon the Christian miracles as grounded in historic fact,*

* It must be confessed, that De Wette's views of the miracles are rather wavering, as given in his different works. But he never shows any Naturalist doubts. It is his uniform opinion, that such a moral miracle as Christianity might be expected to be accompanied by wonders in outward nature.

and yet values them for their moral and spiritual signification, far more than for their worth, as outward facts. He receives, for instance, the account of our Lord's resurrection. He allows, as every candid student of early Christianity must do, that, without the fact of our Lord's resurrection, the remarkable confidence with which the disciples were inspired, after such bitter disappointment and despondency, is perfectly unaccountable, and too great a miracle to be believed, — a greater miracle and more incredible than that of a resurrection from the dead. Yet he believes, that the unshrinking faith in the eternal life, which Jesus showed before his death, and his peace and love and power, even amid his grievous sufferings upon the cross, and the idea of the superiority of spirit to inert matter, are far more important as elements of Christian faith, than the bare fact of a miraculous resurrection. He unites the two bearings of miracles, that have been too often disjoined — the material and the spiritual — he regards the miracle both as an historical fact, and a spiritual symbol. We know not how we can give a better idea of his view of the use, which the Christian preacher should make of the miracles, than by quoting from "Theodore" the letter, which the simple-hearted, trusting young minister, John, wrote to his philosophical friend, who was doubting and distracted between the Naturalist and Supernaturalist view of miracles. These words may not be amiss upon the minds of some of our brethren, who are speculating on the subject, and may impress upon them a new application of the command — What God hath joined, let not man put asunder.

"The longer I exercise my office, the more I feel that the doubts, which have troubled your mind, do not concern the essentials of our truth, or the doctrine which the servant of the Lord is commissioned to declare.

"You believe, as well as I, in the truth and the saving power of the Gospel, in the incomparable worth of him, whom we own as our master, teacher, and guide. And with this faith, if it be only deep and living, one may lead the minds of men to that, which concerns their peace. In instructing the people, we have no reason to speak of the contest about reason and revelation. How could I, in speaking to the people, deprecate reason, when the very next moment, in order to lead to conviction of the truths of the Gospel, and make application of it to the duties of human life, I could not even attack it without using it. The people know nothing of this distinction, and wish to know nothing

of it: they wish for the truth, no matter how revealed, whether naturally or supernaturally. They only hold to this, that it comes from God, and is in the Holy Scripture. And who will or can deny this? Have you ever doubted this yourself?

"The same thing holds good with respect to historic doubts. We cannot in the Pulpit enter into any critical investigations of the miracles of Gospel story, but use them so far as they tend to spiritual edification. Merely to believe that Jesus worked this or that extraordinary deed tends rather to excite astonishment, than to kindle real devotion. I find, that the miracles are seldom or never brought forward in the Bible, as *mere miracles*, that is, as objects of astonishment, and that we are almost always directed to a higher spiritual meaning in them. Thus much is certain, that if a man speaks of the miracles to the people, he must make a spiritual application of them. Not long since, I preached upon the miracle of feeding the five thousand. But I could not confine myself to the mere fact of our Savior's having in a supernatural way increased their supply of provisions, (which indeed is not expressly stated,) because there is nothing in this view edifying for the soul. But I sought to make clear the spirit and sentiments, which Jesus displayed in this action, and thus to excite and elevate my hearers. And does not the soul and sentiment remain the same, think as we will about the connexion of miracles with nature?"*

It may be that our author is disposed to slight the external, authoritative side of Christianity, and to think it little matter what facts of history we believe or disbelieve, so long as we are right about principles and feelings. If he have a fault as a Theologian, it is this. But it is a good fault; and standing as it does in the face of a miserable dogmatism, that is ever ready to consign men to endless misery for not holding the church belief, regarding some historical fact, that happened thousands of years ago, we respect the fault, and honor it more than the best virtues of these narrow dogmatists. Be it remembered, however, that as a preacher he corrects the error of the Theologian and Philosopher, and appeals more to the outward authority of Christianity and to the miracles, than his speculative views would seem to imply. Witness his sermons on the Resurrection and the Ascension in proof of this. Yet he is always true to his great principle, to regard the letter only as the dress of the spirit — to value facts for the ideas which they contain.

* Theodore. Book II. ch. vi.

II. Having now glanced at De Wette's view of the historic basis of Christian Theology, we pass on to consider his opinions upon the main points of Christian Dogmatics.

How he would treat this branch of his subject, may be easily inferred from what we already know of the man. With critical acuteness and moral and religious sensibility singularly united, he studies the records of our religion, and seeks to ascertain the distinguishing principles of each part, to ascertain what is the mere garb, which prejudices of time and place have given to those principles, and what are the real divine revelations, or unchangeable eternal truths. In this spirit he traces the development of religious ideas in the Old Dispensation, both in the early Hebraism, and the later Judaism, modified as it was by the influx of the Chaldean notions of angels, demons, and the future life, and he seeks to ascertain what the doctrines of each period were concerning God, man, and God's government of man, especially in regard to a future Messiah. In like spirit he then traces the progress of Truth, as fully revealed by the Savior, and repeated by the apostles, and as it has been variously imaged forth from the minds of men in the various ages of the Church, both Catholic and Protestant.

We cannot of course follow him through this search into the progress of Christian Doctrines, for even to give an outline of his labors would far transgress our limits. Let us only bear in mind, that he strives to write a history of Dogmatic Theology, on the same plan upon which the history of philosophy has been studied in these latter days; he would show the great ideas, from which all the dogmas of religion have sprung — thus giving a fair view of the various conflicting systems, and at the same time manifesting the unity of the real truth. The reason why Doctrinal Theology has not been studied in this way, he does not know whether to attribute to the difficulty of the subject, or to the want of a sufficiently scientific spirit among theologians. Without dwelling upon this point, we now turn to our author's views of the main Christian Doctrines, and we begin with the doctrine of the Revelation through Christ and the Inspiration of the Bible.

In Jesus Christ we have a revelation of God, in which we ought to own a power infinitely above us, and before which we ought to bow the knee in adoration. This is the spirit, in which the pious Christian contemplates the manifestation of the truth, as it is in Jesus. The doctrine, that Christianity is a

divine revelation is one that the heart, aided by the Holy Spirit, must feel; the spirit in the soul of man must own the divinity of the spirit in the soul of Christ, and in his life and words. The truly divine bears its highest proof in itself, and does not rest upon any worldly knowledge for its support. All goodness, like all beauty, is its own best witness and proof; and in order to know what is truly divine, it is as absurd to seek to prove it by labored logic, as it would be to seek to prove by an elaborate argument, that the blue sky is delightful to the eye, or that a master-piece of Phidias or Raphael is truly beautiful. The Christian world has always believed the divinity of Christ, because they have had a witness of it in their own hearts. They have tasted that the Lord is good. They have heard the words of Jesus, and owned that never man spake like this man. They have meditated upon his life and works, and felt that in him God dwelt and through him fully revealed himself.

As to them, who have recorded for us the revelation, made through Christ, they were inspired in so far as they lived with him or near his time, and imbibed his doctrine, and were filled with that same Holy Spirit, of which he was full. Free investigation into the claims of the canonical books is allowed; and no man's salvation can be endangered by any opinions he may form upon such points of critical inquiry. But there is another view of the canon, which is independent of the question of historical criticism, and which looks rather at the divine truths in the books, than at the authors or dates of the record, and glories with faith and love in all the traces of divine perfection, that are visible in them; and of course a man's salvation or the peace of his soul can be endangered by the opinions he holds of the sacred records, considered in this point of view. If he scoffs at the divine wisdom and goodness and love there manifested, he brings his soul into peril,—he shuts his mind against the Holy Spirit, and is already condemned in his own heart,—condemned as truly as that man is, who, beholding a kindly act in his brother, or a token of the Heavenly Father's love, turns away with a sneer, and will see and own no goodness there.

The peculiar Christian doctrines are treated under three heads,—the doctrines relating to God, those relating to man, and finally those relating to salvation, or the Reconciliation of God with man or man with God.

1. In regard to the Being and Attributes of God, De Wette

avoids equally the old superstition, that places God far above the world in some remote heavens, and that Pantheism, it matters not whether of materialism or spiritualism, that confounds God with the world. As to the doctrine of the Trinity, in its right sense, he receives it with all his heart, and mourns, that bigots and dogmatists should have so distorted it as to bring down to a sensuous worldly formula a truth, which is one of the spirit's mysteries, which the pious heart alone can feel. He owns the three great manifestations of Deity, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Son and the Holy Spirit are only forms of God's manifestation of himself in the world, and of his working for the sanctification of man. Through Christ, with the aid of the Spirit, the pious soul draws near to God, and a union or atonement with him is made. According to this the whole view of Christianity may be regarded as concentrated in the doctrine of the Trinity, and it is an essential of our faith. But sad have been the errors and culpable the bigotry of theologians, who have so materialized these three manifestations of God, and declared the absurd dogma of three persons in one, and made the senseless distinction between substance and person.

This view coincides with the opinions of us, Unitarians. De Wette, however, objects to what he calls the Unitarian doctrine, as strongly as he does to the prevalent Trinitarian dogma. "The view of the Unitarians," he says, "who recognise only a Supreme God over the world, is onesided, and leaves the heart cold. We ought to feel the image and power of God in the world around us, and especially in the revelation by Christ, and thus go from down upwards, as from up downwards. In the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, every truth is embodied, which is contained in Monotheism, Anthropomorphism, and Pantheism, and thereby Christianity has over Judaism and Heathenism the superiority of having the perfection of both without any of their errors." The Christian adores the one Eternal Father, seeks to find him in the Son, and to feel him in the Holy Spirit.

2. We now come to our author's doctrine of Mankind, or of Human Nature. Here the account of man in Genesis, which is the basis of Paul's view of free grace in Christ, is an important element. It contains the just historical view, that with the beginning of free action and culture in the world, sin, and misery, (of which death is the great symbol,) as its punishment,

came into the world, and man lost peace and joy of soul, and was driven from Paradise. This event is repeated in the life of every man ; all persons sin, as soon as they have knowledge and free will, and so all have Adam's nature, and take part in his sin and share his guilt. But the church dogma on the subject errs in ascribing to the mere picture of lost simplicity and innocence in our first parents the idea of a previous state of perfect holiness, — an idea, to which neither Genesis, nor Paul, nor the New Testament give any sanction, and which we can, and must abandon. The old dogmatists are more correct than many recent theologians, in regarding our tendency to evil, as guilt ; a truth, upon which all religious life rests, and with the rejection of which Christianity falls to the ground. Paul's view is the true one, that man, with all his moral effort, cannot attain to inward peace and the favor of God ; since how can he elevate himself to true holiness. But it is a dogmatic extravagance to deny to man all power of goodness ; this is not just, in a moral view, since we have always moral power, even if it is finite and vincible ; and in a religious point of view, it is false, inasmuch as even the moral condemnation, which we pass upon ourselves, is based on a recognition of the holiness of God, and the need of believing on and confiding in him is placed in the very constitution of our hearts. On the other hand, it is still true, that it is difficult for man to raise himself to religious faith, that sensual views and tendencies have such power over him, that an outward excitement and support, (in which the pious heart owns God's free grace,) is needed in addition to his natural capacities for religion. A passion for a connected dogmatic system, together with a partial materialist point of view, has exaggerated this truth, and forgotten, that although man needs the Holy Spirit in the works of regeneration, yet here, as everywhere in the spiritual life of men, an inherent receptive power must be regarded as a prerequisite to the Divine Influence. The inherent power of the soul, in itself finite and dependent on God, needs an outward excitement in order to become active, and therefore man needs salvation through divine grace. It is a perfectly correct religious view to regard all the inspiration towards good, that ever glows in the soul, as an influence of the Deity. The Holy Spirit and Reason must not be opposed to one another, but the latter made subordinate to the former. The former belongs to Faith, the latter to reflection. These limitations and corrections of the dogmatic creed do not at all

war with the faith of the people. The just belief still remains, that we are all sinners, and all come short of the glory of God; and that all good comes from above from the grace of God; and the doctrine of Justification by Faith and Sanctification by the Holy Spirit is in nowise shaken. The great Christian truth of man's dependence on God remains unwavering for the pious heart. Why should the pious man vex himself about dogmatic theories? Faith does not weary itself in making acute and subtile distinctions, but lives in full contemplation and enjoyment of the truth.

3. But it is in the third division of doctrinal theology, that is, in regard to the doctrines of Salvation, that our author's views are most remarkable and satisfactory. His views of the doctrines of grace are probably those, which the liberal Christianity of the age will adopt and preach. The aim of the doctrine of salvation is to show the reconciliation between the idea of a holy, benevolent Deity and the prevalence of evil in the world; between the destination of mankind to goodness and their actual moral perdition. The solution of this problem is found in the redemption and atonement by Jesus Christ, and in the efficacy of the divine grace, whereby the salvation of man, his peace and blessedness are ensured.

That God wishes the good of the world and of all men, is the great Christian idea, which lies at the bottom of the doctrine of salvation, and which we must recognise as one of the great truths of the Universal Faith and Reason. That God, through Christ, would redeem the world, is the obvious view of Christianity, which the Scriptures declare, and which philosophy assents to, by proving the adaptation of Christian truth to the human heart, and its identity with those eternal ideas of the reason, which unaided reason was of itself incompetent to develop fully. That God has resolved to save some individuals by faith in Christ is only an application of this general idea to the particular consciences of individual believers. Those persons, into whose mind the truth sinks and quickens Christian faith, hope, and love, are delivered from the powers of darkness and despondency, and are saved through faith in Jesus. These persons, so richly blessed from above, naturally feel and declare their own unworthiness and inability. Thus comes the doctrine of the depravity of the human heart and its inability to work out its own salvation. The mind of man unaided cannot attain true peace, — cannot be saved from the evils of this

world, nor established in firm faith in the eternal life. The evils of life press heavily on the heart, and unless the Divine Comforter be there, evil will often seem to reign over good; the soul needs trust in one, who, like Jesus, has sounded the depths of deepest human woes, and by his own experience proved, that there is glorious joy beyond, — one who has passed through the gloomiest recesses of this vale of tears, and shown that beyond the darkness there is glorious light, — that even the Gethsemane of Agony, through which we must all pass, can have its ministering angels, and the Cross of Anguish can lead to a Heavenly Crown. The natural creation around us gives the soul some intimations of an eternal life, and the soul's own yearnings and aspirations crave an immortality; but creation speaks a language of enigma, and the soul's consciousness is wavering and uncertain, and often the clouds of sin and despondency shut down upon it, and hide the stars of immortal hope. In Christ immortality is made sure; he lived the eternal life in this world; he never doubted it, while living, and sealed its truth by his death; he has passed within the veil; the curtain before the Holy of Holies is rent asunder; man may now enter the sanctuary of divine truth, may behold the ark of the eternal covenant between the Human Soul and the Eternal Father, and, without priest or sacrifice, may find a blissful reconciliation or atonement. Thus comes salvation by faith in Christ.

Some find this faith and salvation; others do not. Here a fertile source of controversy is opened. Those, who find faith and salvation, attribute their happiness very justly to God, who hath called them to such joy. Very soon they go a step farther, and also attribute the sin and misery of the unfaithful to the decrees of God, who is thus made to elect some to salvation, and to consign others to perdition. This is the Calvinistic dogma of election. It makes God the direct author of evil, and cannot be true. The Lutherans, on the contrary, hold to a universal love of God, according to which he wishes the salvation of all men, but at the same time does not decree salvation to all, except on the condition of faith. Both Calvinists and Lutherans are right, and again both are wrong, and the truth lies midway between the two. The Lutheran is right, inasmuch as he attributes man's unbelief and sin to his own guilt, but at the same time he is wrong in not regarding faith as the work of the divine grace; and besides it cannot be denied,

that men are led to unbelief by birth and fortune often, and therefore by the Providence of God, or by a divine decree. The Calvinist is right in attributing faith and unfaithfulness to the work of Providence, but is wrong in attributing the whole to the arbitrary decree of God, irrespective of human will. Each expresses a part of the truth. The one dwells exclusively on man's freedom, the other exclusively on his dependence on God. Both are right in a degree. Man is free, and yet dependent on God.

The contradiction between the Calvinistic and Lutheran doctrine of Election is thus removed; and especially when we refer its application to the work of salvation, as something temporal and historical, and not to a decree of God for eternity. A man has been *elected* to salvation, whenever the Gospel has been sent in such form as to touch his heart, and to fill it with faith and peace: a man is rejected by God, as long as the Gospel has not been addressed to him in such a manner as to bring the Holy Spirit to his heart and convert him. He is rejected, because his own sinfulness is strong, and Providence has not addressed the truth to his heart with sufficient power to break down the barrier, which his own sins have erected against the heavenly light. He is not elected in this world, but it does not necessarily follow from this, that he is rejected forever.

As to the dogma of the divinity of Christ, De Wette regards it, as having a moral meaning for the heart, and he is never disposed to speak disparagingly of it, so as to wound the feelings of any lover of the Savior. But he is equally cautious of falling into the error of those dogmatists, who pretend to show how the divine and human natures are united in Jesus. The pious Christian, convinced of the divine truth of the doctrine and life of Jesus, and of the wisdom and grace of God, made visible in him, and penetrated with the beauty and sublimity of his character, believes and beholds in him the Godhead manifested bodily, but he does not agitate his brain with subtle metaphysical inquiries, how all this is possible, since a living feeling in his own soul shows this to him as actually true, and he bows in spirit before the God present in Jesus. Away then with all those arid formulas of dogmatism, of which the Bible and Christian faith know nothing at all, and which had their birth in the sterile heads of spiritless word-mongers. Let Christ come to our hearts, as the Son of God, the Divine Man, the image of the Eternal Father. Let us not be parsimonious in

glorifying him, nor weigh our expressions too anxiously. Let us not forget, that these expressions should come from the heart and be addressed to the heart, and not to the critical understanding; and let him, who would speak to the people of their Savior, not do it without the warmth and freedom of pious inspiration. We ought indeed to be careful how we err in speaking of the physical nature of Christ, and beware of confounding the Eternal Spirit with the human nature. But there is little fear of such errors, if we remember that the Gospel way to understand the union between the Son and Father consists in our being one with each other and with God, even as the Son was one with God. Christians would cease their quarrels, if they would seek to breathe into their souls the life of Christ, and to hold him up to the hearts of men, as the Way, and the Truth, and the Life.

The doctrine of the atonement does not strike our author, as it does many late theologians, as being unimportant to religion, or as an utterly disgraceful relic of Judaism. Of course the idea of sacrifice, which this doctrine presupposes, sprang from Judaism, but in the Christian atonement the sacrifice is spiritual, and thus the doctrine is worthy of our faith. The scholastic doctrine of a satisfaction necessary to appease the wrath of God is to be utterly rejected; for it is a coarse and sensuous application of the worldly ideas of judicial retribution to the highest moral subject. If we do not mingle with the common view of the doctrine a carping criticism, but view it as broadly and spiritually as the apostle Paul does, who refers everything for which we have to thank Jesus to his death, and considers it as the effect of his death, we then possess a beautiful religious symbol, which, when glorified by art, has the most beneficial influence on the pious mind, and gives a deep serenity. In order to see this we must analyze the doctrine into its religious elements.

Christ frees us by his death from the punishment of our sins, and propitiates the wrath of God. This is the common doctrine; and this, divested of the coarse doctrine of satisfaction, so confounded with it, and considered in a spiritual light, amounts to no more than this; Christ gives to the mind, distressed with guilt and distracted by doubts, such inward peace, that it can raise itself confidently to God, the righteous Judge. The consciousness of guilt, expressed in the language of the heart, is that religious feeling of humility, in which we bow

ourselves before God, and by which peace of mind returns to us ; since we cannot raise ourselves towards Almighty God without feeling ourselves strengthened and inspired. From the due contemplation of the holiness of God, there springs up spontaneously in every sound, living, pious mind, that mysterious reconciliation, which is to be understood only by the believer's heart, and which the Christian calls atonement or forgiveness of sin. * This inward inexpressible reconciliation must be represented actually in history, and thus preserved and made to minister to the unconverted world. As in Christ all ideas are manifested, historically and personally, of course, this highest idea of atonement must be manifest, in order, that in him the whole life of Humanity may be perfectly mirrored. And this is done by his martyr-death.

“ Since Christ by enduring death for our sakes presents the highest idea of moral perfection, and has represented by it the complete victory of the spirit over the flesh and sin, we may through faith in and communion with him, appropriate his merit to ourselves ; he raises us to himself, when we crucify ourselves with him, and like him, free ourselves from the dominion of the flesh ; and confiding in him, we find peace of soul, and no longer fear the wrath of the exact Judge, but have become sure of the grace of a loving Father. Besides, the historical importance of the death of Jesus is to be regarded ; that through his death the victory of the truth has been most distinctly established ; that the dying Jesus is in an adequate sense the representative of the Christian Religion, in so far as it has enlightened and blessed the world ; that we behold all, that Christianity has conferred on us, concentrated on a single image in Christ on the Cross ; that in consequence of the death of Jesus, peace of soul, the Atonement has come.”

“ This is the pure sense of the biblical doctrine of the Atonement to which the idea of sacrifice brings no detriment ; since in the Sin Offerings of the Old Testament, the idea of self-denial was represented, in that the victims died in the stead of the sinner, and typified his guilt. But in those sacrifices, the idea of moral aspiration and the free grace of God was absent, or at least not figured forth. Christ was the complete sacrifice, because he, alike by his moral purity and spiritual might, and the love that inspired him, was the emblem of purified and hallowed Humanity.”

“ The doctrine of the Atonement is peculiarly the pillar of the doctrine of Justification, which is justly regarded as the

basis of the whole Christian doctrine of faith, and which we so fully approve, that we have scarcely anything to say upon it. It coincides almost entirely with our idea of *humility*, through which the pious soul, in a sense of its own guilt, bows down before the Holy One, and in thankfulness to Eternal Love finds consolation ; and we recommend this as the true antidote against that recent moral theology, which evidently lays too much weight on morality, and against which, it is as effective, as against the Catholic doctrine of satisfaction and work-righteousness. Not by works and our own merits, which however great according to a finite measure, yet always disappear before the absolute holiness of God, but only by the grace of God, can man be saved."

Man is brought into the right state of mind towards God, or justified, only when leaving his own fluctuating passions and vain thoughts, he puts his trust in God, as manifest in his spotless Son, and regarding him as the Author and Finisher of faith, presses on to the mark of the prize of his high calling.

We close our view of De Wette's doctrinal opinions with a single remark regarding the last branch of the subject of salvation, or the doctrine of the "last days," *eschatology*. He regards, as most Christians do, our Lord's declaration of the last judgment and future punishment, as figurative expressions of solemn truths. He considers Jesus to declare in fearful emblems the future retribution, that sin brings upon itself. At the same time he cannot think, that after the death of the sinner, Divine Providence has no further means of acting on his depraved mind, and restoring him to holiness and happiness. But he strongly deprecates any kind of preaching, that will lead the sinner to go on in sin, and, in face of the awful warnings of the Savior, defer making his peace with God, till the grave shall have shut its irrevocable gate upon him, and he is summoned into the presence of his final Judge.

We now approach the last point, and can give but a hasty glance at our author's view of practical Theology. The aim of practical Theology is the religious education of the people. The great means of giving the people a religious education consists in the formation of a Spiritual Brotherhood, and in a public religious service ; the latter to be doctrinal, and thus addressed to the understanding, and symbolical, and thus addressed to the imagination and affections.

Jesus did not come to found an exclusive spiritual community, or church, that should be marked by fixed external rites, but in order to build up the kingdom of God. He declared this in his conversation with the Samaritan Woman, and further in his reply to the Pharisees, who asked, when the kingdom of God should come. Thus his revelation appears purely spiritual and divine: but the institution of fixed ecclesiastical forms, however perfect they might be, must always have been a human work, and would have hindered the free development of the Christian Church: and Christ would not have been the Eternal Savior and Redeemer, but merely the founder of an outward religion, as Moses was, which in time must have given place to another more perfect. The kingdom of God, as a purely holy and blessed community of spirit, began at the moment, when Christ as a divine intelligence and sinless man, was recognised as the beginning and head of this kingdom, and those acknowledging him gathered in faith and love around his person. And what Christ did for the foundation of his kingdom on earth consists in this, that he established this moral and religious community, through which the Eternal Spirit is realized upon earth. This community is in will and deed; and has no other form, than Life itself, and an historical connexion with its founder. He has bequeathed to it but two forms, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which as forms of profession and communion with him afford an outward and visible centre. In early Christian days there were no forms of association for the purposes of profession and worship, besides these two rites, except a strict fellowship in reference to the teachings and life of him, from whom this new spirit had gone forth, and in reference to the Old Testament, whose history and doctrine in him found their full development. But the more this union increased and extended itself, the more the primitive spirit departed, the more the free Christian life was narrowed down by the establishment of creeds, ceremonies, and hierarchies. Even the Protestant Reformation, although its great principle consisted in going back to the Bible, as the only standard, was too much disposed to place its own interpretations and creeds between man and the Savior, and impose human limitations upon the right of individual judgment. But the true ground upon which the Christian Church rests is not any fixed standard of faith, drawn up by men, but that historical communion with Christ, which is to be maintained, on the

side of the reason, by profession of faith in him and in the Bible, as the historic fountain of truth, but not according to any fixed dogmatic interpretation; and on the side of feeling and action by a spiritual brotherhood, and by such symbols as shall touch the heart with a lively sense of religious truth. And it is firmly believed, that the Protestant Church is strongly inclined to this view, and is now on the way to free itself from all dogmatic bonds, and to form itself into a free communion. There is hope, that the mass of Christians, avoiding, on the one hand, the dogmatism that would mar and narrow, and, on the other hand, the licentiousness that would dissipate the Christian community, will unite upon one broad Scripture basis, rejoiced to find in each other a sympathy of Christian feeling, and to tolerate all differences of opinion in the interpretation of the common rule.

De Wette has many useful suggestions, as to the means of diffusing a religious spirit among the people.* He uniformly shows himself the same friend of spiritual religion, and the same foe of narrow dogmatism. He would have the young made fully acquainted with the Christian history, and their hearts imbued with faith and love, and their brains not vexed with the subtle speculations of scholastic dogmatism. He would have all the great events of the church so celebrated, as to touch the feelings of the people, and bring the holy truths of religion down to the hearts and senses of mankind. Christmas, the festival of happy childhood and the glad hopes of humanity; Easter, the festival of martyr self-sacrifice, the martyr's immortal crown and the power of faith in the eternal life; Pentecost, the day sacred to human brotherhood and the descent of the Holy Spirit, that gives to man an assurance of a Heavenly Father; all these events in the Christian Church he would have celebrated by appropriate and touching rites. He would connect religion, as nearly and dearly as possible, with all the affections and interests of human life, that every scene may be hallowed by Christian love, every action be guided by Christian principle, and all existence cheered by the glad light of Christian faith. He would have all the youth submit to the rite of confirmation, and by this beautiful ceremony express their faith in Christ, and their intention to enter on the duties of life, as good citizens and faithful Christians. He would con-

* Ueber die Religion. Lecture XX.

nect religion with all occasions of national rejoicing and national distress. He would establish a yearly festival in commemoration of those who have died during the year. He owns the wisdom of the saying, that every sermon should be an occasional one, and would have the preacher avail himself of every means of giving a religious air to current events. Even prayer, he says, gains new power and significance by some living expressive reference.

Friend as he is to Christian Union, he does not expect nor desire entire conformity in the manners and opinions of different churches. He only desires, that all communions should not attach too much importance to outward forms, but should seek to show their sympathy not only by mingling in each other's worship on all occasions of common interest, but by a free and hearty fellowship in private society and devotion.

He recommends many improvements in church services both in music and architecture, and in preaching and prayer. He insists much on the necessity of throwing more of the religious spirit into common literature, art, and life; and by his own noble example he has taught this doctrine, better than by words. Some perhaps may wonder at his taste in church music, but as for our unmusical ear, we like his view of the subject. He objects to the use of the organ in churches, as giving to sacred song a false aid, that cramps its free utterance and expression; and because the organ is so often trusted to some tasteless performer, and is made to produce such artificial ornaments and ungodly flourishes. He is inclined to prefer a choir of only four voices, without an organ, who shall be assisted by a chorus of all the singers in the congregation.

We have now given an imperfect survey of De Wette's most important theological opinions. We have seen what are his notions of man's capacities for religion, — the great religious ideas of reason and revelation, — the historic development of these ideas in the Christian Revelation; — his views of the Deity, of man, and man's reconciliation with God, and finally of some of the means of giving religion a practical application to human life.

In finishing our notice, we have only to remark upon the good influence, which his works will tend to have upon the religion of our own country. Our religion is too formal and dogmatic; he would teach us to infuse more life and feeling

into our faith. Our religion is too little connected with common events, with nature, with poetry, with literature and society; he will teach us to shed its hallowing influences every where, in every action to appeal to a noble idea, in every scene to behold the power and love of a Heavenly Father.

His views are admirably adapted to soften the asperities and destroy the dogmatism of the Christians among us, who are usually denominated Orthodox; and, on the other hand, to evangelize the preaching, and take away the too negative character of the professedly liberal Christians. He will teach the Orthodox to believe, that Christian faith rests upon something higher than a dogma; and he will convince many, who go by the name of Unitarians, that morality is not the whole, and that Luther's fundamental doctrine, that by faith we are to be justified, contains a truth of Scripture and of the Eternal Reason.

In the romance, Theodore, De Wette shows an exquisite knowledge of the difficulties and despondencies to which young preachers are subject. Many of our young preachers can fully sympathize with Theodore's perplexities in the choice of a subject for his sermon, and have found their homilies as little edifying to the people as he found his to be.* Indeed, in Theodore's early experiences, we read the history and behold an emblem of liberal preaching in our community, for the few years previous to its recent happy regeneration by the transition from a negative to a positive manner, and by a fresh infusion of the spirit of life.

It was not easy for Theodore to make choice of a subject for his first sermon; and when finally he had fixed upon one, it seemed to him, that his mode of treating it was cold and dry, and he carefully elaborated it twice over. At last he was ready, and the day of his preaching came. The whole village went forth to hear him, the church was quite full, and not one of his own family absent.

The sermon treated of prayer and its efficacy, and the main doctrine of it was as follows: We ought to pray for spiritual good, for virtue, and wisdom, and to leave to God all that concerns our worldly welfare; if we pray thus and earnestly, we shall be certain of being heard, since the earnest prayer brings with it an earnest will to share the divine goodness, and thus

* Book I. ch. ii.

the human will becomes one with the divine. Theodore's delivery was declared to be excellent for a beginner, and his appropriate demeanor was commended. The old parson was the first to give his opinion of the merits of the discourse. He praised not only the good delivery, but also the clear and simple arrangement of the discourse; but he deemed the contents too merely intellectual and abstract, and the view given of prayer not wholly scriptural and correct. "The Christian," said he, "can pray for temporal, as well as spiritual good, if like Christ, he adds, 'not my will, but thine be done.' And then you have forgotten," he added, "that we before all things ought to pray for power to do good, without which our best efforts avail nothing."

Theodore had no wish to argue with him, since he was eager to see what impression his sermon had made upon his mother, and he hastened home. He found her in deep emotion. "This sermon," said she "has singularly affected me. I know not whether I ought to be glad or sorry on account of it. I see, that you can become a good preacher, but I fear you were in the right in calling this new doctrine very different from the old. I was never taught to believe in your view of prayer, nor do I now pray in such a manner. You know, that I believe in having obtained of God the former recovery of your sainted father, and shall I not pray daily for you and Frederica? Ought I to give it up?"

This touched Theodore with deep sorrow. He cried, "No, no, dear mother, you ought not to give it up," and fell weeping into her arms. His heart was conquered, but not his head.

His sister Frederica said, that he preached like the new fashioned preacher in the next city, whereby she unintentionally touched him to the heart, since he was aware, that this preacher had in the beginning attracted large audiences by the charm of novelty, but now he declaimed to an empty church.

Theodore spoke in the afternoon with some villagers of an intelligent class; and these could not conceal from him that he had given no edification by his discourse.

He was not discouraged, but sought to succeed better by avoiding in his next discourse all doctrinal points, and preached on self-control. But his sermon gave no more satisfaction, than the other, either to the mother or to the old minister. The latter said, that the Bible was indeed full of moral precepts; but the great aim is not so much to present an outline of moral

duty, as to wake the inner life, and quicken the love and zeal for morality. He blamed Theodore for not referring more to the life of Christ, which is in itself the best teacher and inspiration to morality.

But he found a way to rise above this cold moral preaching, and to address the heart as well as the head, to quicken the Holy Spirit, as well as convince the critical understanding. In his early troubles and final regeneration, he is no unfit emblem of liberal Christianity among us.

He is an example too, and De Wette also is an example, of a philosophical mind going through all the mazes of speculation and doubt, and finally sitting at the feet of Jesus, and in humble faith, entering the kingdom of heaven like a little child. Be his course an encouragement to all, who share the trouble of his early doubts,—be his final faith and piety a rebuke to those timorous believers, who are ever ready to cry out *anathema* against those, who show a philosophical spirit of inquiry, and may chance to exhibit some doubts and errors upon the subject of Christianity.

There are among us Christians, who like Theodore became such through the path of free philosophical inquiry. There are others, who like John can submit to the authority of councils and creeds, and rest an unquestioning faith in the letter of the church standards. Well will it be for the latter, and well for the Church of our God, if these last will show to the former the mild and faithful spirit of the pious John, the true-hearted friend of the skeptical Theodore. Instead of rebuking his friend's free inquiry and philosophical tendencies, this simple-hearted Christian readily saw the difference between his own and his friend's character, and encouraged him to follow out his inquiries, and cheered him with the trust, that truth and faith would one day dawn upon him, who in faith sought the truth, scorning alike servile deference to the bondage of creeds, and hypocritical fawning before the prejudices of society.

One day, after some warm discussions between them upon religious subjects, and John had shown much solicitude on account of his friend's wavering faith, he came to Theodore with brightened eyes and said; * "I have given up all anxiety on your account. Only be of good cheer. The Lord leads you

* Book I. ch. i.

a different way from me, — the way of a severe trial, and will bring you to a happy issue. The Apostle says, 'There remain to us faith, hope, love, these three, but the greatest of them is love;' only abide in love, and faith and hope will return to you."

"Love until death," replied Theodore, "servent love for truth and virtue, — for all that is good, great, and lovely."

May such spirit unite all the friends of the free faith, as it is in Jesus; and by whatever pathway, whether by unquestioning evangelical belief, or by earnest philosophical inquiry, may all confess one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.

S. O.

ART. II. — *The Music of Nature; or, An Attempt to prove that what is passionate and pleasing in the Art of Singing, Speaking, and Performing upon Musical Instruments, is derived from the Sounds of the Animated World. With curious and interesting Illustrations.* By WILLIAM GARDINER. Boston: J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 1837. 8vo. pp. 505.

THIS is almost the first specimen we have had of anything like the *literature of music*. It is a sign, too, of our increasing musical taste, which could justify so beautiful a reprint of so beautiful a work. It cannot but raise the popular idea of the power, the depth, and the resources of this noble art. We have rarely seen musicians with philosophy enough to analyze, or general culture enough to describe the wonders in which they live and move. But here is an approach at least, not wholly unsuccessful, to a power of translating music into words. And the secret of it is, the author's habitual intercourse alternately with nature, and with the concert room, the orchestra, the choir, and all the little worlds which Handel, Beethoven, Weber, have peopled with their thoughts. His ears are always open; he walks and listens and is constantly tracing correspondences between audible nature and his own favorite art. He detects in all the common sounds of life the elements, which he finds inwoven into the most subtle tissues of melody and harmony. Here then is quite a discovery; music may be described. This

most mysterious, vague, and evanescent form of beauty, this language of the heart, baffling all attempts of the understanding to hold it fast and define it, has yet in many respects a common origin with spoken language. Nameless itself, yet it may be resolved into its elementary phrases, which are idealized copies of sounds in nature, which we all have names for. Thus the outward form and feature of the thing, if not its essence, may be described; and this is as far as words can go in any case. Mr. Gardiner, in his beautiful descriptions of passages of music, proves two things: that in the world of sound, art and nature are full of correspondences, and that in both departments he has been a close observer. He has loved music with his whole soul, and nature has given him a copious vocabulary wherewith to make his love somewhat intelligible to others. How far this may be carried cannot be conjectured: far enough certainly to recall with tolerable distinctness the essential features of a composition which one has heard before, and to single out, and hold up to critical comparison, characteristic passages, or combinations of harmony. In this way it is opening the door to a new branch of literature, *musical criticism*, a thing alike needed for the cause of pure taste, and for the vindication to music of her true place among the sister spirits of the Beautiful, of her equal share in human culture. We hope the example of Mr. Gardiner will be followed, and that lovers of music will exercise themselves in this power of *describing* its marvellous effects, till it can be talked about enough to become a fair subject of criticism, till its origin, its nature, and its principles can be shown and settled, till it shall be rescued from its low name, as a sensual amusement of the ignorant, and raised to the dignity of an art, which learning and feeling, and the highest moral and intellectual refinement shall love, and cherish, and explore.

The manner in which this book is thrown together forbids an exhaustive criticism. It has no form nor progress; it is as miscellaneous, as nature is to the common eye. From its title we expect a formal dissertation on the origin of music in the sounds of the animated world. But its contents are a perfect medley of all matters relating to music, — a musical *Encyclopedia* without the alphabetical order. It is rather a curious, than a philosophical book; and charms more by its various, lively observation, than by any depth or unity. It contains no theory of music, but thousands of curious facts and observa-

tions to illustrate a theory, or draw a theory from. It is the more interesting, perhaps, for its very superficiality. It does not explain, it does not aspire to causes; but it cheerfully and industriously gathers together facts, and compares them, and traces resemblances and analogies between them. In this way it contributes something to what may be called the *Natural History* of music,—the first step certainly towards a well-grounded philosophy of music, which shall comprehend its unity and find its fundamental *Idea*.

We open the book and find chapters upon everything:—descriptions of the vocal organs; the analysis of speech; the art of singing; critical notices of distinguished vocalists, interspersed with chapters explaining the little graces and artifices of music, such as the *Slide*, the *Shake*, the *Appoggiatura*, the *Sostenuto*, &c.; the sounds of birds, insects, and animals, reduced to notation; historical descriptions of all the musical instruments, and of what they each contribute to the higher developments of music; brief elementary treatises on the science of harmony, and melody, and modulation; remarks on great composers and on the process of composition; speculations on the analogy between sounds and colors; descriptions of passages from the works of Haydn, Beethoven, &c; selections from the same for the piano, many of them truly gems; and a great variety of anecdotes, which run away from the subject so easily, as to betray the habitual story-teller. From all this confusion of data, the philosophical reader may draw his own conclusion; and certainly no one can be more likely to be drawn than that contained in the title of the book. The most striking feature in it is, the author's attentive familiarity with the sounds of nature. This it is, evidently, which has helped him to tell us all these things about music; and thus it may well be called the *Music of Nature*.

We value the book, then, for its descriptions of music, for the glimpse it affords us into the almost infinite resources of the Art, and for the physical explanation of many of its little arts of expression; we may add too, for the pleasant autobiography which it presents of a musical character, of one of the sunnier and more curious spirits, who live in the realm of sounds. But we cannot say, that the writer has shown us music in its highest, essential character, or has understood its true nature and purpose. He has hardly got farther than to regard it as an imitation of nature, and as one of the natural media of ex-

pression. What is its foundation in the eternal nature of the soul, what it ministers to the soul's culture, and how it is related to the other arts,—these are questions which we hope to hear answered, whenever the philosopher and the musician shall meet in one person. That this higher criticism of music has remained so unexplored, is owing perhaps to two causes. The first is in the essential nature of music. It has to do with feeling, emotion; and, as a general rule, they who feel most, reflect least; they who know its power, the genuine lovers of music, are men of sensibility and spontaneous life, little given to the analysis of their own mental states. It is a problem for another age, to reconcile the spontaneous with the reflective tendency in a life; and then perhaps we shall have a philosophy of music. The other cause is historical. Music, though called the first-born of the arts, attained its growth the last of all. Sculpture culminated in Greece; Painting in the middle age. But Music in the ancient time was but the handmaid of poetry; and whatever instrumental music there was, was merely an imitation of the voice, or a simple accompaniment to keep the voice up. *Pure* music, as such, that is, instrumental music, only became an independent art in the last century, in the hands of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and finally of Beethoven, who carried it up into the infinite, bounding all human conception since his own. It is only in the realm of instrumental music that the true philosophy of music can be found; for that alone is music proper; the orchestra is its highest external development. We are as yet, then, in its infancy; and except among the Germans, little philosophy or higher criticism can be expected.

In this connexion we cannot refrain from using Mr. Gardiner's book for illustrations, while we attempt to give an idea, somewhat higher than the popular idea, of what music is. We start from the low popular view; and this must be our excuse for descending to the proof of what ought to be matter of feeling and above proof.

In the first place, the pleasure derived from music is more than a physical pleasure. It is more than an agreeable sensation; it is not all over when the excited nerve has ceased to vibrate; it lives on in the mind; it becomes an idea there, a feeling. It is not without its lasting influence upon the heart, the imagination, the whole upward striving of the soul. Have we explained the beauty of Nature or Art, when we know all about the

eye and the optic nerve, and the physical laws of light and color? Have we discovered the grand mystery of poetry and eloquence in any analysis of the vocal organs and the rudiments of speech? Will a finer "*ear*" make a Mozart? There is nothing in this world without its spiritual meaning. We converse with it through our senses; but it enters the eye or the ear that it may plant seeds in that unknown Infinite, which we call our soul. That snatch of melody, which I hear to-day, never to hear again, perhaps, — never to recall, even in memory, in its right order, — shall not be lost, but shall be part of me in a higher sphere of being, ages hence. Some little song, heard and forgotten in boyhood, even now determines somewhat my affections, my aspirations, and colors the whole ideal which floats before me. Where is it that we experience music? Not in the senses, where we do food and hunger, warmth and cold; but in the seat of deep sentiments, in the seat of Reason and Imagination, and Love and Faith, where only thought, poetry, eloquence, beauty are privileged to enter. There are men, who live in music, as others do in philosophy or poetry. It is their world; the giving and receiving of it is their life. Are these men mere sensualists, amusing themselves forever? In all this harmony which they drink in, pour forth, and leave written, are they not letting us commune with their spirits? To a musical mind, who can rightly appreciate what he hears, an Oratorio, a Sonata, a Symphony tells the whole story of its author; his life is in it, as much as ever poet's life was in his song. There are styles in music, which betray, not various art, but various character of heart and mind. There is but one Beethoven, — one Rossini. Is it that they have such peculiar "*ears*"? and do we say, such an *ear* loves such a style of harmony? The whole process by which music is composed, is analogous to that of literature. It is prompted by a heart full to necessity of utterance; it is conceived in the mind, like thought; it is written down, and read, and meets response in other minds and hearts; and, when made popular, it tinctures more or less the popular thinking and feeling and living. Haydn wrote his music as a scholar writes his books. He kept his musical common-place book, in which he noted down such floating airs and snatches of melody, as his fancy gave birth to in his casual moods; and to this he would resort for the theme of some sprightly Allegro, or tender melancholy Andante, when one of his sublime orchestral Symphonies was

to be written. Who, that has admired that popular little piece, called "Weber's Last Thought," can doubt what a pure and heavenly spirit breathed its farewell to earth in that most melancholy, yet confiding and consoling strain? It was his Swan-song, fit melody to die by. So does all that is beautiful or sublime in music stand for some deep inward experience, reminding the hearer, or waking within him some vague prophetic intimation of the same. Is it still doubted that it is a thing of the soul, and not of sensation merely? Look at the aged Beethoven, totally deprived of the sense of hearing, yet ministering still in the temple of harmony, and composing his sublimest works with an enthusiasm, which seemed to need no physical excitement. But who ever knew any sensual gratification to survive the sensibility of the organ? When was ever "the hungry edge of appetite cloyed by bare imagination of a feast"? This fact alone lifts music from the rank of physical pleasures.

But further; the time devoted to music is not merely so much spent in pleasure. When we speak of it as an amusement at all, we wrong a noble Art. The true lover of music may not be passive. It is an art which always begets enthusiasm, without which there can be nothing noble, in study or in action. The realm of the Beautiful tolerates no idlers, no self-seekers; to such it has nothing to show; duty, devotion is the first law there. They, who have once entered and caught a glimpse of its glories, must labor, or they shall see no more. So much holier is enthusiasm than pleasure. He, in whose breast this chord has once vibrated, whether at the touch of music, or poetry, or of aught in action, which may be called beautiful, feels that he has no right to rest longer where he is; there is something excellent demanding his pursuit,—a bright ideal flying before him; if he reach it, it crumbles in his hand, and another brighter from its ashes soars far above him, and so onward and upward to unimaginable perfection.

In this point of view music would be ennobled in public estimation by an acquaintance with the lives of some of its great masters. Haydn toiled in his profession with a gigantic industry, hardly second to that of Michael Angelo. Almost in infancy he eagerly improved every slightest opportunity, which could develop his talent. Too poor to purchase Lessons in Thorough Bass, he got hold of an old treatise on the subject, which with infinite pains he deciphered, studying

day and night, in an old garret, without fire, almost without food, proving all, as fast as he learned, upon a rickety old harpsichord, making a thousand little discoveries of his own by the way, which astonished the musical world in his first compositions. Chance at length threw him in the way of a cross old music master, whose favor he slowly won by the most sedulous attentions and menial services, till he gave him some instruction in counterpoint. He was now prepared to enter the field as a composer. He drew his inspiration from Nature, and delivered music from the stiff mechanical rules of the contrapuntists, taking for the basis of every composition the Air, the natural melody of the heart. For food for his imagination he diligently collected all the ancient national melodies of all nations. From this time forward his studies seldom fell short of sixteen hours a day. And the number of compositions of his own, which he enumerated in his old age, is almost incredible. Where, in the annals of pleasure, shall we find instances of a devotion like this? The inference to be drawn from it is, not that all the world should be Haydns, but that any pursuit, which can so totally absorb the whole energies of one man, and that a man of genius, cannot be without its significance to all men. That must be a popular element, which can completely occupy, without exhausting, any one man's life. The secret of the superhuman strength and perseverance of genius in its own department is, that it labors to perfect one of the universal, everlasting elements of human nature, and thus unites itself with the heart and soul of all times, has the sympathy of all humanity (in the long run) with it in its work. Michael Angelo, Haydn, Milton, Plato could not have toiled so consistently and so long, if we and all men had not some interest in their labors.

Not in finer nerves, then, nor in the love of pleasure, arose the charm of music; but in something deeper. There is something within us, the deepest and best which we are conscious of, which we cherish ever, but can never express, until the Beautiful in a scene, a poem, a painting, or a song, surprises us as being the fit expression of our very feeling, — so true to it, that we cannot help thinking that we long ago and always anticipated it, and should have produced it ourselves, had we only learned the craft of rhyming, or coloring, or composing harmony. Music is one of the Fine Arts, which all minister in various ways, through various physical organs and senses,

to the soul's everlasting want of the Beautiful. No soul is contented with the actual. The Beautiful is all that it finds in this world to soothe its discontent: *there* is something it can love; *there* is something it can trust, and go out without reserve to meet; for it is an emblem, at least, of all that in its deepest faith, in its silent longings it had cherished. It is this which prevents us from settling down into a mechanical, unprogressive state. But for this we should not know that we are meant for anything better than we are. The Beautiful makes us yearn to be perfect; it makes us feel that heaven is our home; it is our present heaven. The Beautiful, come in what shape it will, is something which we take home to us: it speaks to our heart of hearts; there is a certain mystery in it, which we feel concerns *us*; we are always the ones spoken to,—just as some portraits look at every one who comes into the room. No one, who is completely entranced in a landscape, a picture, a song, can doubt for a moment that here he is in his place. These things converse with his ideal nature. In this is the origin and the final cause of Poetry and the Arts, music among the rest. This is the secret of its spell. It reveals to the ravished listener so much within him, it whispers to him the possibility of embracing so much of the infinite world without him, that he abandons himself to the high influence, and ever after aspires to something nobler.

This ideal tendency in man, from time immemorial, created music along with poetry and the fine arts. Music has this in common with them all, that they are all *beautiful*, and that they are all a *language* of thoughts, feelings, sentiments. It differs from poetry in being vague, while poetry calls up definite thoughts or images by words. It differs from painting and sculpture in the same thing, and also by its being a direct expression of feelings, which they never are. Music through feelings calls up the objects with which those feelings are associated; painting and sculpture through objects call up feelings. Music appeals directly to the feelings; these set the imagination to work, recalling and supposing scenes and images. Painting and sculpture appeal at once to the imagination; the scene or the form before us, then we begin to feel. Music describes through emotions; painting and sculpture move through descriptions. A song draws tears of gratitude and fondest recollection, and instantly we think of the old cottage and the happy circle. The painter paints us the old cottage, and instantly we yearn to other days.

This, then, is what is most characteristic of music: It alone, of all arts and languages, is a direct expression of the feelings of the heart. So that, were this part of our nature developed, the most obvious and spontaneous utterance of feeling would probably be not words, but music. Music properly is the only language which is pathetic. Poetry is so only by the tones in which it is read, or in which we imagine that it should be read. Music is quicker understood than words. Words are arbitrary, and require to be learned before they mean anything;—only fellow countrymen can talk together. But music is a universal language;—the same tones touch the same feelings the world over. Spoken languages address the understanding; when they would interest the feelings, they pass at once into the province of music; then it matters not so much what is said, as in what tones it is said. When an emotion would utter itself, words are nothing, tones are everything. We instinctively recognise the peculiar notes of joy and anguish, triumph and despair, consolation, pity, and entreaty; they need no words to interpret them. These uniform and instinctive tones, modulations, cadences, smooth slides, and abrupt starts of the voice are the original elements of music. Art only uses its privilege to add to them beauty, or rather to combine them always with reference to a beautiful effect, and then they become music. Out of the natural, instinctive utterances of human feelings, passions, and aspirations, combined with the love of the Beautiful, music grew.

Thus we see how distinct and important a province it holds in the culture of the soul. Each great principle of our nature has its own peculiar language, which addresses immediately the same principle in others. The language of the will is action; of thought, words; of the imagination, painting, sculpture, architecture; of feeling, music. All these powers grow by expressing themselves. Every voluntary action gives a man so much more will; every genuine utterance of thought in words increases so much the power and the habit of thinking; every image, which the mind shapes to itself and embodies, leaves the mind so much the more imaginative. So the genuine love of music begets enthusiasm, sensibility, fervor, all those qualities which unite and blend men together, by merging the private interest in the common feeling, the narrow, partial opinion in the universal aspiration.

Mr. Gardiner's book is full of illustrations of the fact, that all

natural utterances of emotion are musical. This he has verified by a great deal of ingenious research, not only in the human voice, but he has extended it to the sounds of the whole animated world. He gives us the songs of birds and the cries of animals written down in musical notes. The "minor mood" in music is but a copy of the plaintive tones of grief, when the voice, through lack of light-hearted energy, falls ever short of the note it would reach.

Instrumental music is as remarkable for its expressive power, as song, — indeed, in some respects more so. Instruments, having greater compass and flexibility, and, compared with average voices, greater purity of tone, can wind through the subtlest labyrinths of melody. Instrumental music too is freer. Unconfined by any verbal application to definite thoughts, the heart and the imagination revel in most adventurous excursions upon the mighty deep. The feeling, which is not fettered by a thought, is most likely to be universal; for our thoughts are all partial and limited. Some of the Sonatas of Beethoven and Haydn, as we learn to appreciate them, like the deepest poetry, seem to express all the deepest undefined yearnings of the soul. If we cannot readily and certainly conjecture their meaning, we instinctively catch their spirit; they win us to the mood in which they were written; the feelings they express are not of time, so that hearts in all times, and places, and circumstances are not excluded from a full response. Mr. Gardiner says of Beethoven, that some Quartettes, written during his deafness, "anticipate that feelings of a future age." Why may not this be true, when much of his music, which is now, by common consent, placed at the summit of the art, quite confounded the mechanical musicians in the day of it, and was thought crazy and unmeaning?

For the same reason, in pathetic songs too much should not be unfolded in the words. In the union of poetry with music the effect is lost, if the poetry be not the simplest possible. If it be more than a single thought, a mere theme, just hinting the explanation of the curiously complicated melody, and no more, it clogs the free movements and deadens the charm of the music. Music claims always to be principal or nothing. Out of a few words it can unfold infinite meaning; but, where the words are a discourse in themselves, there is more thought than feeling, and music is out of place. The charm of the old melodies, the songs and ballads, of which we never grow weary,

lies in this. In that song of songs, in Handel's *Messiah*, "*I know that my Redeemer liveth*," a few familiar lines, a single verse, just expressing the thought and no more, are expanded into several long strains of music. Hence the air is one unbroken outpouring of triumphant faith and gratitude, and serene joy, the richer and the fuller, that it has not to adapt itself to changing thoughts, but is left at liberty to follow the natural course of fervent feeling, and to cling with fondest repetition to the one ever dear and holy theme. No less expressive and delicately true to all our associations with the words is the air, "*He shall feed his flocks*," and "*Come unto him, all ye that labor*." What consolation does not that exquisite strain whisper to the anxious mind! We open ourselves to that song, and are perfectly happy; it glides invisibly into the profoundest labyrinths of the breast, and unlocks all the fountains of joy and peace within us; it changes the whole aspect of things around us; everywhere we are met with smiles; we feel that we are no longer alone in the world, and yield ourselves with sweet resignation into the arms of Providence. Then we discover, perhaps for the first time, how chaste, and pure, and serene a state is that happiness, which we seek with such mistaken struggles of unhallowed, unquiet desire. All the preaching in the world does less to teach us Christian resignation, than such a song, which gives us a foretaste of the very feeling.

A few words as to the descriptive power of music. In some of the most graphic orchestral pieces, hearing and seeing become one; we begin to doubt almost if the eye is necessarily the organ of vision, so analogous are sounds with forms and colors the moment we cease to hear them superficially, but get lost in the spirit of them. It was the simultaneous remark of more than one, who heard Caradori sing, that her highest, purest, sprightliest tones seemed like points of light, stars dancing in the air. Everything which intently occupies the mind, the mind paints to itself again in images; it translates all its notions into vision, and that so rapidly as almost to fancy that it *sees* them in the first instance. It is by some such law of the mind as this that music becomes descriptive. But it does not directly describe, like speech or painting. It interests the feelings first; these the imagination, and then come up the scenes, the forms, the faces. Our emotions have all a creative power; our passions are artists; they surround themselves with the fit landscape; they people the void with forms and faces,

and all objects familiar, or fantastic, or radiant with divine ideal beauty. Music too is vague; and therefore describes even the more powerfully. It wakes the feeling, which is one in all; but it leaves each individual heart to clothe its feeling in its own hues and forms. Music too is partly imitative. It borrows many sounds from nature; and the resources of the art are gradually enlarging, and seem capable of indefinite enlargement, by a diligent observation of the sounds which pervade the air. The wind, the ocean, the rustling grove, the murmuring brook, the hum of insects, — the rush, the start, the crash, the flow, the roll, the impatient bound, all appear in new qualities of tone, and new species of rhythmical motion. The "reed-stop" of the organ reminds you at once of the mysterious, soul-like music of the wind, sifted through the tiny leaves of the pine grove. In Handel's *Messiah*, at the words, "*Suddenly there was a multitude of the heavenly host praising God*," the air is filled with the quick undulations of wings by the stringed instruments of the orchestra. At the words, "*I will shake the heavens and the earth*," the whole mighty mass of sound quivers to its base. In such music the orchestral accompaniments form the dark back-ground, or deep undefined substratum, the world in shadow, whence the voices emerge into distincter light, like the prominent figures in a great painting.

But music never copies nature literally; if it does it fails. It uses the privilege of art to idealize whatever it represents; it views all things in a picturesque light. The harshest sounds in the description of a battle or a storm are as if heard from a distance, where they are blended in with all other sounds and harmonized. If it use a discord, it is only to prepare the ensuing concord with a more beautiful effect. Beauty, beauty is the object of all the arts. They may copy nature; but always they do something more; they create, they impart to every picture something of their own. They contemplate nature from a loftier position, and impart a spiritual unity and beauty to that which looks deformed and contradictory to the vulgar observer. It is a remarkable fact, however, that nature herself idealizes in the first instance; she gives the hint to the artist. As, seen afar off, the most vulgar and incongruous objects make up one sweet picture, so all sounds, however harsh and jarring singly, become blended into the general music of the air, so that one ground-tone pervades them all, and swallows up their

discords. The tremendous roar of Niagara is musical and pleasing, because it so completely pervades the air ; everything around for miles has adopted its vibration, and the effect is one deep, soul-satisfying harmony ; it does not disturb, but fills and delights the ear. So it is with the roar of the ocean, particularly on a beach, where there is a rhythm with the harmony. But the sharp, petulant prattle of smaller falls, like those at Trenton, forbids all music, and distracts and crazes one, whose ear is sensitive. So soon as an object becomes vast enough to be called sublime, it is beautiful. So with sounds. So soon as they become grand enough, not to check, but to swallow up all other sounds, they become Music. The most complicated wonders of musical art therefore have nature for their authority.

Such are some of our speculations, the greater part of them experiences, about music. We might continue them much farther ; but feel that we shall be gratifying more readers, by making our own remarks give place to some specimens of our author's power of description. We quote almost at random. The following description of morning in "*The Creation*" is from the chapter on *Color*.

"The sinfonia in the *Creation*, which represents the rising sun, is an exemplification of this theory. In the commencement of this piece, our attention is attracted by a soft streaming note from the violins, which is scarcely discernible till the rays of sound which issue from the second violin diverge into the chord of the second ; to which is gradually imparted a greater fulness of color, as the viols and violoncellos steal in with expanding harmony. At the fifth bar, the oboes begin to shed their yellow lustre, while the flute silvers the mounting rays of the violin, as the notes continue ascending to the highest point of brightness ; the orange, the scarlet, and the purple unite in the increasing splendor, and the glorious orb at length appears refulgent with the brightest beams of harmony." — p. 189.

He thus describes his having heard Paganini.

"A breathless silence then ensued, and every eye was watching the *entré* of this extraordinary violinist, and as he glided from the side scenes to the front of the stage an involuntary cheering burst from every part of the house, many rising from their seats to view the spectre, during the thunder of this unprecedented cheering, — his gaunt and extraordinary appearance being more like that of a devotee about to suffer martyrdom, than one to delight you with his art. With the tip of his

bow he set off the orchestra in a grand military movement, with a force and vivacity as surprising as it was new. At the termination of this introduction he commenced with a soft streamy note of celestial quality; and with three or four whips of his bow elicited *points of sound* as bright as the stars. A scream of astonishment and delight burst from the audience at the novelty of this effect. Immediately execution followed that was equally indescribable, in which were intermingled tones more than human, which seemed to be wrung from the deepest anguish of a broken heart. After this the audience were enraptured by a lively strain, in which was heard, commingled with the tones of the instrument, those of the voice, with the pizzicato of the guitar, forming a compound of exquisite beauty. If it were possible to aim at a description of his manner, we should say that you would take the violin to be a wild animal, which he is endeavoring to quiet in his bosom, and which he occasionally, *fiend-like*, lashes with his bow; this he dashes upon the strings as you would whip with a walking switch, tearing from the creature the most horrid as well as delightful tones.

"He has long legs and arms, and the hands in his playing often assume the attitude of prayer, with the fingers pointed upwards. The highest notes (contrary to every thing we have learnt) are produced as the hand recedes from the bridge, overturning all our previous notions of the art. During these effects a book caught fire upon one of the desks, which burnt for some time unobserved by the musicians, who could neither see nor hear, though repeatedly called to by the audience, anything but the feats of this wonderful performer." — pp. 215, 216.

We regret that "*The Music of Nature*" does not contain all of the notes of Mr. Gardiner to "*The Lives of Haydn and Mozart*," translated from the French of Bombet. Here he has shown some of his finest powers of description. May we not hope soon to see a reprint of this interesting work? It is one of the very few works in English which treat at all worthily of the æsthetics of music.

J. S. D.

ART. III. — *The Western Messenger; devoted to Religion and Literature.* Vol. V. No. I. April, 1838. Louisville. Conducted by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

THE first number of this periodical, "devoted to religion and literature," was published at Cincinnati, in July, 1835. It began with a subscription list which it was supposed would ensure its support, as contributions were to be gratuitous; and with the not unnatural hope on the part of its conductors that every year would see this list increase. Three years have passed, and it is still struggling for mere existence. During the last spring its energetic and laborious editor, the Rev. James F. Clarke, of Louisville, feared that he should be obliged to abandon the work, or, at least, to reduce it, and would have been obliged to do one or the other, had not assistance been given him by subscriptions at Mobile. All this proves that the class of money-paying Unitarians has not grown at the West as it was hoped would be the case. It was thought that many persons, who were dissatisfied with prevalent forms of religious worship, and who knew of none more suitable to their ideas, would learn, by means of the Messenger, that a form of faith did exist with which they could sympathize. Many such persons were found, but they were, in general, little disposed to pay for the new faith that was offered them, though they might be very willing to receive it; in other words, they had no particular objection to Unitarianism, but cared very little for religion at all.

At first sight this all seems very discouraging; and, although a strong society has grown up at St. Louis under Mr. Elliott's charge, and though those at Louisville and Mobile are doing well, the general condition of Western Unitarian churches is not such as to make us feel, that our particular doctrines and views are spreading beyond the mountains as rapidly as was hoped for.

But let not these things create doubt, or lead to diminished hope and exertion. The Messenger and the Unitarian pulpits of the West are devoted not to a sectarian faith alone, but to the spread of that Christian spirit, that toleration, that humility, that independence, that true democratic love of, and respect for, all men, and that pervading piety, in the spread of which all sects may unite. We must not suppose that

Liberal Christianity can coexist with Unitarianism only ; we must not suppose that we monopolize that developing quality of Christian truth, which fits it to be the religion of all time ; we must not fall into the too common error of thinking that we, because convinced that we see the truth, therefore see the whole truth ; that because assured we are building on the Rock of ages, that we have therefore the whole rock under us. There is, probably, not a Christian sect but is in some point more nearly right than ourselves ; there is, certainly, not a Christian sect but has in it some sparks of Truth, for otherwise it were dead.

That unsectarian spirit, therefore, and those unsectarian principles, which Unitarians would diffuse, may be also diffused by those that regard Unitarianism as the worst of heresies ; and let this diffusion go on, and let us look to it in all hope ; for if our sectarian faith be of the truth, if it be a part of Christianity, it will by and by come in as the natural result of this diffusion. The spirit of a people moulds the faith of that people ; the spirit of a man makes the faith of that man, if he be, in faith, a man, and not a vessel into which faith is poured. We are almost born Calvinists, Catholics, Swedenborgians, Universalists ; for, as a man's nature is, so are his views of God and man, and thence, of religion ; his nature develops, is modified, is changed, born again, and his elements of faith change likewise. If you would fix his faith, then, affect his spirit. And if you believe Unitarianism to be the truth, rest assured that the Catholic, and the Baptist, and the Presbyterian, and the Deist, while they are preaching in a Christian spirit, and aiding to spread that spirit, — are preaching Unitarianism. And doubt not that the Messenger is doing its work ; it is read by many, who would as soon set a neighbor's house on fire as give support to a Unitarian publication, but who, from this periodical, may imbibe sentiments that will make them apostles of Unitarianism, if, as we have said, Unitarianism be the truth.

In the West it is, we believe, peculiarly true that Christianity in all its forms will be liberal. Narrowness and intolerance very generally result from uniformity : in the midst of a community which remains from year to year the same, and in which from year to year some dogmas are held to be the truth, and none question them, it is almost impossible but to be so convinced that they are the truth, as to feel intolerant toward those that doubt them. How can we bear with those that ques-

tion, — not our views, but the Truth itself? There is said to be a little town in our New England, where, diversity in dress being almost unknown, if one in a new-fashioned garment appear, the cry is, “Crazy man! crazy man! stone him! stone him!” and in more than one town in this region, if any dare raise his voice against prevalent views, that cry, in spirit, is echoed. From many a quiet fireside, from many a Christian “Home” in this land of ours, are the beautiful tales of Miss Sedgwick excluded, only because she is not, in her form of faith, what those are who gather round that fireside: she is from the pest-house, shun her! Is this to be counted an error of Sin? rather, we think, an error of Misfortune. Placed as those are, who are thus intolerant, if they have earnestness, they must be almost more than men and women to be other than intolerant. But let those same men and women be placed where all is changing about them, where tongues are not echoing-trumpets, but organs of individual speech, where every shade of opinion is spread before them, and poured into their ears, where the view of the truth, which they had ever thought the whole and sole truth, is held by others to be error and folly, — then must some humility come in; some dim perception that we may be fully convinced that our own views are true, and still not be so convinced as to feel authorized to act against others as in undoubted error; and thus will come a toleration, which is neither the toleration of unconcern, nor the toleration of empty words.

In the West all is changing; every shade of opinion, from North and South, the Atlantic States, England, Germany, and France, goes thither; no community there lives in an iron armor of faith; no hoary-headed Tradition has gathered disciples about its feet, and shut out unbelievers; society is there somewhat as it is in times of revolution, but without the excitement of those times, and the fanaticism which results from it. The Catholic and Protestant meet there and recognise, each in the other, a fellow-man, not a monster; the Calvinist and Unitarian meet there, and peering into each others eyes, see there images, though distorted images, of themselves. Thus is a blow struck at sectarianism, not by doing away with sects, but by increasing them: the more views of truth there are about us, the more we feel that we do not see the whole; and we can bear with those who only do not see as we see, who reject our views and not the truth itself.

We have great faith, then, that at the West, Christianity is to become liberal ; that its teachers will become teachers of toleration, not in words so much, but rather in deeds. Already you may meet there in the social circle of a high professor of some form of faith the Catholic priest, the Episcopal rector, the Presbyterian divine, the Methodist minister, the Unitarian clergyman. And can honest, upright, intelligent men meet and talk, and feel, and act in unison, and not become tolerant and the teachers of tolerance ? And if they do become the teachers of tolerance, they become the teachers of an unsectarian Christianity, which will advance the truth, and, of course, that form which is most akin to the truth.

There is another tendency in the West, which goes to the same end, — the tendency toward a more perfect individuality than exists in older communities. It is the result of the circumstances of that part of our country, where, a few years since, every man was to himself the whole world. It is seen now in various forms ; in that disregard for the laws, that disposition in each man to be judge and executioner in his own case, which in all ages and lands has accompanied the good that flows from the same fountain ; but which, we hope, may now be done away, and still the good retained. It is seen in that conventionalism abounds less ; that classes are less marked ; that manners are franker, more characteristic ; that opinions (letting alone politics) are less partisan, more those of the man ; and that extravagancies of all kinds abound. If the excellencies of this tendency can be retained, and men be led to think, feel, act more as men, and less as parts of masses, we may look for growing developments of truth, for original views, for higher theories of life, and for, the best of all, nobler and truer lives. And these things, surely, will all advance Christianity ; and is it not Christianity, rather than Unitarianism, that we would advance ?

One other tendency in the West we would refer to as affording us much hope. This is the very strong disposition which exists there to base society on Christian grounds ; and the effort to do this is made, not by Christians only, but by many who, not yet recognising Christianity as the truth, see, dimly, portions of the truth which many Christians do not see. It is becoming more and more the feeling at the West, that we have a savor of feudalism still about our social condition, which is not only at variance with our political forms, but which is so

opposed to those forms, that it must fall, or they must. This feeling does not say, that liberty and French equality must go together, but it does say, that liberty and Christian equality must; not that it is desirable merely, but that, under the laws of nature, it is necessary, or evil will come. If you classify men, says this feeling, and to some classes give respect and moral power, whether you class on the ground of muscle, or blood, or gold, or profession, you must also give these classes physical power and arbitrary rule; for, if you do not, that ability and excellence, which abides in mechanic bosoms and the hearts of husbandmen, will see that its birthright, moral power, is given to the weak and worthless, and it will, in some form, rise against the recognised injustice. If you give individuals and not classes, then, political power, you must give them also moral power; if you do not, your political system will be at variance, the ignoble against the noble, the poor against the rich.

Now what is, socially speaking, the fact in our country? Do we practise on the Christian ground, that honor should be given to whom honor is due; that moral power should follow moral worth? Does not wealth, even inherited, does not profession, does not family, give a man an influence that he would not have of, and from, himself? If it does, what then? Will not the able and high-minded mechanic, whose voice falls unheeded on ears that catch the lightest whisper of the rich man's breath, feel himself wronged, and resent the wrong? Is not this process going on about us? Is there not something deeper at work in our political party divisions than an interest in temporary questions?

In the West there is, as we have said, a strong disposition to consider individual ability and worth, and honor them. A diploma or a pedigree will help no man; and the educated and pure may rank with the first, though penniless. The disposition is not to destroy wealth, to do away professions, but to respect them less, and men more. It is not a destructive, but a conservative disposition; it is not the friend, but the foe of agrarianism.

In this disposition we see a ground of hope for a state of society in our country, based upon the Christian principle of brotherhood; the prevalence of which, it appears to us, is the only safe support for a democratic form of government. Such a society would be a living one, bound together by natural and

vital ties ; it would move, think, feel as one; and not act jarringly, like the feudal form applied to present men. This is not a living body, but an automaton, at best, and needs unceasing repair and cleaning ; it might almost be called a carcass, the elements of which are striving to separate continually, and can be kept together only by the strongest antiseptics, charcoal and nitre. And if this disposition does tend toward an approximation to Christian brotherhood, we may surely look upon it as most favorable to the spread of truth. As the meekness, faith, courage, sincerity, and love that must accompany a state of Christian society increase, we may rest assured a knowledge of Christianity will increase also : "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

What we have said, is said to rouse, not to discourage exertion on the part of Unitarians. They think their form of faith the nearest existing approach to Christianity ; and, if so, it is the best fitted to advance all high tendencies, and has the most in sympathy with them. What we would impress is, that we need not despair because few put on the name of Unitarian ; if they have a Christian spirit, and live a Christian life, it should be enough ; and if the Unitarian pulpits and writers of the West aid in diffusing that spirit, and inducing that life, let us feel hope and confidence ; for if our cause is the right one, it is prospering.

But in going to the West, the Unitarian must adapt himself thereto. He must learn to look for the truth that is in his opponent, and the falsehood that is in himself. If, secure in his robe of "Liberal Christianity," he is content to see the bigotry of his neighbor, but is blind to his own lukewarmness, his own formalism, he is not the apostle for that country. He must learn, too, to be individual, not merely one atom of a mass ; he must have an opinion of his own, speak a mind of his own, not rest upon others, and ask daily, "What is thought about this ?" And he must be prepared, too, to take his stand in the midst of a people, who, born democratic, are so situated that they must push the doctrines of democracy farther than they have yet gone ; he must be prepared to take his stand on the great social truths of the Gospel ; to use his utmost efforts, — not to preserve present feelings, present views, present notions, because present, for, unless based upon the truth, no power can preserve them, — but to preserve what are in his eyes Christian feelings, and Christian views.

J. H. P.

ART. IV.—*The Young Man's Aid.* By Rev. HUBBARD WINSLOW. 12mo. Boston. 1837.

WITHOUT assenting to everything contained in this book, we may say in general terms, and with reference to the main purpose of it, that it is a well executed work in the class to which it belongs, a class indeed with which the present time may be said to abound. Doubtless the fulness of the supply indicates a corresponding previous demand growing out of a want deeply and widely felt in the community; and we would fain believe, when we see the general conscience thus evincing a deeper sensibility, that it is not because the world is worse than ever before, but because it is going to be better than it has ever yet been. We would fain hope that the restless and stirring spirit of inquiry and discussion, which has infused itself into everything in life, rousing and stimulating the public mind into a most mercurial activity, in reference to all subjects of practical interest,—education, its principles and processes,—religion, its forms, its speculations, its vital principles, its mighty reforming energies,—we would fain hope that this state of things may be but a showing forth of the way in which He, who ruleth in the affairs of men, intends to overturn, overturn, overturn, until the principles of gospel love and gospel purity shall be everlastingly established.

In urging high moral and religious considerations upon thoughtless, or perverted minds, there is always a difficulty; and in addressing young men, as is the object in the work before us, this difficulty, if not greater, is stamped with a peculiar character, from the circumstance of their being young.

It is natural to the season of youth to be volatile, gay, and thoughtless, carried away by impulse and very susceptible of excitement, hasty, ardent, and impassioned;—and when experience and deep conviction call upon young people to be soberminded, thoughtful, collected, self-restrained, there is apt to arise in their breasts a feeling of opposition and resistance to the call. It seems to be an intrusion upon their liberty and their rights, and perhaps the first impulse is to repel it with rudeness; but most of them, after all, cannot find it in their hearts to do this;—they perceive, if it be an interference, to be at least well meant.

We wish never to forget what allowances are to be made for

the buoyancy and excitability of youthful animal spirits, for the imperfect development of the youthful mind, and for the deficiency of experience in early life : — and still, with all seriousness and fidelity, we would speak a word of caution to young men, in regard to some of the dangers by which they are beset, and in aid of the great purpose which drew forth the work before us. We would impress on young men, if we could, that the true preservative and defence against all their dangers is sobermindedness, or rightmindedness, — just and true views and purposes of life.

But we must not be too wide in our remarks. We shall confine ourselves to the dangers, that spring from the excitability so natural to youth ; dangers we are to bear in mind, that are increased and made fearfully fatal by many pernicious habits and maxims prevailing in society, and by that unsound state of the public sentiment, which justifies those habits, and gives everlasting currency to those maxims.

We have intimated that the period of youth is peculiarly susceptible of excitement ; and it is. But indeed every period of life is in some degree susceptible of it. In persons of sanguine and ardent temperament, particularly in early life, it abounds and needs to be restrained ; while in those of phlegmatic and sluggish temperament, especially in the later periods of life, it is deficient, and needs to be cherished and increased ; but to none, we believe, save the stupidly indolent, or the thoroughly worn out, is it wholly wanting. Excitability is one of the great propelling principles of human nature, without which the whole machinery of society would stand still, and life itself would be intolerably stupid and wearisome. It is not in itself good or bad, right or wrong. It is right when employed, under the restraint of reason and conscience, in the pursuit of any right object. It is wrong when immoderately indulged even in the pursuit of right objects, and when indulged at all in the pursuit of improper ones. The Creator implanted it in our constitution, as he did other instinctive principles, to answer great and necessary ends. But he put it there to be our servant, and not our master. It must be kept under the control of the higher principles of our nature, reason and conscience ; or instead of answering the great and necessary ends for which it was given us, it will work our destruction.

This principle of excitability is in danger, as what we have

said implies, of being carried out in wrong directions, and of being indulged inordinately in right ones. Now the misfortune of the case is, that the tastes, habits, and pursuits of the community in which young men grow up, that is, in fact, the great influences which go to form their tastes, habits, and pursuits, are, in many instances, the result of misdirected or overindulged excitability. Religion has had too little to do in forming the tastes, habits, and pursuits of society. Indeed religion has had almost nothing to do with it. The great principles of conduct, by which men act and by which young men grow up to act, are far from being thoroughly christianized; and until the labors of Christian teachers shall be directed to this great, practical purpose, instead of being wasted in an idle babble of barren speculations, but little will be done to make our religion what it was designed to be, a living scheme of principles and conduct for all who wear its name. We proceed to consider a few great particulars, in which the excitability of young men has always been, and still is wrongly or inordinately called forth by the prevalence of unchristian views and practices in the community around them.

One of the most common, and we must say most degrading ways in which, in all past ages, human excitability has found a vent for itself, (and it still does but too much so, though not now to such excess as heretofore,) has been in the horrible and murderous spirit and practices of war. It is curious to observe with what art and knowledge of human nature everything, connected with the wicked business of *setting men to kill each other* **LAWFULLY**, has been managed so as to foster and work up to a maddening pitch all the excitability of human nature. As if it were apprehended that men would not of themselves be hard-hearted and malignant enough for such a work as this, it has ever been a leading point of state-policy to have the ambition of young men excited by the idea of glory and popular applause, to be gained by success in arms, and their imaginations dazzled with the glitter and parade of military operations, the deference paid to military rank, the gay trappings of war, the splendid uniform, the stirring sounds of marshal music; and their consciences withal soothed and cajoled by the air of religion thrown over the whole, the eulogies and prayers and funeral honors, the approving voice of good and pious men, ministers of the gentle and lowly Jesus, defending upon principle the bloody system of overcoming

evil with evil, violence by violence:—all these means and contrivances have been resorted to,—and more in former ages than in this,—to nurse the young and excitable heart to deeds of unnatural ferocity, and to justify such deeds to that heart, by impiously writing upon them the beautiful name of religion.

Let it not be said that, because our young men live in a community where war, with its excitements, is not at present known, there is therefore no danger to their characters from this source. The doctrine and the spirit of war, hostile as they are to the doctrine and the spirit of Christianity, pervade the atmosphere in which we live. They give a tone to conversation upon the passing events of the day; they are the very breath of the newspaper; they deeply tinge our popular literature; the speeches of governors, statesmen, and politicians are imbued with them; they are an all-pervading element in our constitutions and laws;—indeed we have them perpetually proclaimed and set forth in mimic exhibition in our annual trainings and musters and reviews, those nurseries, not only of a warlike disposition, but of the vices usually associated with it, intemperance and profaneness.

This ceaseless recognisance and justification of sentiments and practices, so congenial to the workings of fiery and excited passions, and so opposed to the teachings and spirit of the Gospel, must put fearfully at hazard all soberness of thinking and feeling in many young men. Indeed the danger strikes deeper than this; even to the establishing in the minds of those sober and reflective young people, whose influence in the community for good or for evil will one day be incalculably great, such unworthy and unsound views of what the religion of Jesus teaches in regard to peace and war, as almost to reduce that religion of love to a nullity. Jesus, arraying those to whom he has said, “all ye are brethren,” “by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another,”—Jesus, arraying these loving brethren in hostile bands to imbrue their hands in each others’ blood! The horrible inconsistency is beginning to be felt, as it has never been felt before: and upon the young men of this day does it greatly depend to make it still more and more widely and deeply and practically felt, until war shall be universally regarded as only **LEGALIZED MURDER.**

The heart that breathes forth fervently the petition, “thy

kingdom come," cannot but intreat young men to be sober-minded, — rightminded on this subject, — to take just and true views of the teachings and spirit of Christ, and solemnly to form resolutions of so living as entirely to discountenance and repudiate, in all its parts, the unchristian and barbarous and bloody spirit and practices of military life. We do not ask them to crush and annihilate the excitability of their natures, which would be as insane as to recommend suicide, to prevent continuance in sin. But we ask them to watch over that excitability, and direct it to high and holy ends. Let not this noble gift of God be perverted to base uses. Let it not spend itself upon so low an aim as military glory, the titles and parade which cover up the enormity of a system, which can never operate but to augment human guilt and wretchedness. "It is good," says St. Paul, "to be zealously affected in a good thing." Let the excitability of their young hearts be consecrated to the great work of moral reform; the great work of producing in themselves, and in the whole community, a living manifestation of the great doctrines and spirit of Christianity. When they look over the land and see it polluted by war, slavery, intemperance, lewdness, and other kindred abominations, let them not be disheartened, as if there were no power even in Christianity to stay these evils; but rather, confiding in the regenerating spirit of the Gospel, rouse themselves to active and untiring effort. An encouraging voice speaks to them, "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." All those evils, and all other moral evils, must eventually yield to the power of gospel truth, enforced with the earnestness of a loving heart, and operating at once upon guilty individuals, and upon the public sentiment around them. There are doubtless other parts of Christian duty; and yet here is a field, in which, if there were no other, all the excitability of their natures might be well and nobly expended. It is a field of benevolent effort, in which, living and acting is to live well, and in which, living and acting until death is to die well.

Another way, in which, in all past time, men have found employment for their excitability, is in the inordinate pursuit of gain; and more generally, if not more inordinately, we think, in this age of enterprise and extended commerce than ever before.

We believe a life of active business habits to be very com-

patible with attaining to all the virtues and graces of the Christian character; and yet it is unquestionable, that it is a kind of life that abounds with difficulties and dangers. So many are the unhappy influences that attend that kind of life; so many loose and unprincipled maxims and practices are found in much of the business of life, which it seems almost unavoidable for a young man to fall in with and act upon; so difficult too is it to avoid catching the spirit of eager speculation, and the desire of accumulation and gain, either for its own sake, or for the sake of the consequence it may give, or with a view to the personal and selfish gratifications it may afford; — and so very difficult withal is it, amidst these influences, to maintain true spirituality of character, a consciousness of interest in the world to come, and of the treasure, worth more than all other treasures, to be realized there by those who shall be prepared to enjoy it, that, in truth, a wise young man would perhaps make choice of a more simple and retired walk in life; or, at least, would feel the necessity of entering upon and pursuing this with resolute purposes of watching over himself, and of keeping up unceasing exercises of self-examination and prayer.

It was not money, it was not the pursuit of money, but it was the love of it, the hankering after it as a great good, the uneasiness at the thought of failing to acquire it, the restless fever of the spirits that too often attend its pursuit, the inordinate selfishness and the spiritual unconcern that are apt to be generated by its passion, — it was these diseased states of the inward man, which Jesus and his Apostles declared to be incompatible with religion and with happiness; — and no wise young man should devote himself to a life of business, who cannot so restrain his excitability in this direction, and at the same time so fix it in a direction to higher things, as to keep off those terrible diseases of the soul, which, without extreme care, are almost as inevitable to that kind of life as rust is to iron, when acted on by dampness.

Generally, we believe, these dangers are but little thought of or understood by the young; and here, as we said in the former case, the source of the evil is in the unchristianized public moral sentiment, in which, as in an atmosphere, young men find themselves enveloped, breathing it in from the conversations they listen to in childhood, and from the examples of men respected and influential in society. The public senti-

ment, in regard to many principles and practices in the transactions of business, is not brought up and made to square with the simple honesty of purpose which the Gospel requires. There are exceptions, we know. There are men, who carry their religion with them into all the conduct of business and of life, who will renounce the most gainful traffic as soon as conscience condemns it, and who would a thousand times rather be poor than be rich by ministering to others' vices, or by taking advantage of their necessities, or their weakness, or their ignorance. But the misfortune is, that such men are exceptions; that the public sentiment does not demand nor expect all business-men to be such men, and does not, as a corrected public sentiment would, frown upon them who do those things which the consistent Christian will not do.

So too in regard to the right estimate and the true uses of money, — the sinfulness of that feverish thirst for it, which is idolatry, or of that reckless pursuit of it, in which all other regards are trodden under foot, or of that selfish enjoyment or waste of it, into which enters no sense of accountability to God, or of duty or benevolence to man; — on all these points, the public opinion, the every-day thoughts and mode of speaking of most people, are not christianized; — they are not in the spirit of Jesus, nor conformed to his teachings.

Now here, in these corrupted currents of popular sentiment, exist the great difficulty to be overcome, and the great danger to be encountered by young men entering upon a life of business, — and, in a measure, by all young men, entering upon active scenes in which they are to take a part; the difficulty, namely, of resisting this influence of public opinion, pressing upon them on every side, like the very air they breathe; and the danger, lest they should not effectually resist it, but should fall in with it and act upon it, and adopting its low, unevangelic moral aims, should give their influence to make what is already sunk, sink still deeper, and what is already mighty to produce evil still more mighty; instead of taking their position firm upon Gospel-principles, and, both by a living exemplification of those principles in their conduct, and by an open advocacy of them in their intercourse with society, doing all in their power to reform and purify, and bring to the Christian standard that public moral sentiment, which always must be an all-powerful agent for good or for evil to the characters of many individuals.

Certainly it would be greatly wise in young men to be so-

berminded in this regard, rightminded, true to the religion of Jesus, both in principle and in practice, true to their own characters, their spiritual wellbeing. Let them not make gain their god, the chief and main object of their pursuit or their desire. Let them look higher, and in the emphatic words of Jesus, "seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness," the purity and honesty of purpose, the integrity of life, the loving heart, the active good-will, the soul made one with God and his Christ, which are to give admission to that kingdom. Let them do this, and they will do well, and all needed good things shall be added unto them.

There is another way in which it has always been, and still is, the habit of large portions of society to work off their excitability; and it cannot be doubted that the sobermindedness of many young men is perpetually periled, and oftentimes fatally ruined by the prevalence of loose and unchristian principles and practices in this respect,—if not in the whole community, yet in that portion of it by which they are surrounded and acted upon. We refer now to the habits and maxims of pleasure-loving and pleasure-pursuing people;—of people who make pleasure their deliberate business and pursuit, and who, as the chief means of attaining it, give the reins to their excitability, and urge it into unnatural activity by artificial stimulants, many of these moreover being very pernicious, even destructive in their effects at once upon the body, the mind, and the affections.

Pleasure and happiness, in their primitive signification, are nearly the same;—but how wide apart, in the present state of society, have they become! "Happiness, our being's end and aim," the poet sings. We would rather he had said,—doing good, acting out the promptings of a heart of love, our being's end and aim, and happiness, the unsought-for, but ever-attending joy of such a heart acting itself out. But whether the poet's philosophy, or our own, in respect to our being's end and aim, be the most Christian, we feel sure that pleasure, in the common acceptation, is as unlike the joy of such a heart, as selfishness is unlike the loving spirit that dwelt in Jesus. Indeed the life of the devotee of pleasure is selfishness condensed, as in the intervals of exhausted excitability it is very often misery condensed. Yet unquestionably, so easily and naturally do prevailing wrong modes of thinking and acting pervert youthful principles and tastes, that the only idea of happiness,

which many young people have, is this of pleasure, — excitement, — exhilaration ; and if it run at times even into intoxication, still, if it be only occasional intoxication, there is nothing in the fashionable code of moral sentiment to awaken them from the fatal delusion !

We are aware that the evil, now under our consideration, exists and operates principally in cities, or places of large and crowded population, and, — not to speak of those born and always living in them, — it is precisely in such places that young men, resorting thither occasionally, or for a permanent residence, encounter some of the most fearful dangers by which it is ever permitted that the soul of man shall be periled. We do not mean to say, that in more retired and less populous places there is none of the same fondness for undue excitement and pleasure-hunting to be rebuked and reformed ; or that the public sentiment on this point is there altogether sound and true to the standard of Christian morality. But, whatever there is in such less populous places that is wrong or dangerous to youthful sobermindedness, either in fashionable indulgences or in the loose and unsound modes of thinking, which justify those indulgences, — all this wrong in practice and in principle is, in large and crowded cities, so gathered together and concentrated, so brought to a focus, as, with an intense and consuming power, to scorch and wither the weak and flexible moral principles with which too many young men leave the paternal roof.

It would be a melancholy employment, though it might be a useful one, were the ability for it given us, to observe the downward progress of many a young man, who, withdrawing from the safe seclusion of that domestic circle, amidst which his early days have been spent, with nothing more exciting than the scenes and habits of rural life afford, has plunged into a scene which resembles a whirlpool, in its din and bustle of business, amusement, extravagance, and licentiousness. Could it be permitted to us, it might be very instructive to go into the secret places of his soul, and to witness the change, the lowering down that gradually takes place in his tastes and his principles ; — how the delicacy of his feelings, the purity of his imagination, the sense of shame, are by degrees worn away, as he advances in intimacy with companions of pleasing address, but loose if not profligate principles, and as, under their guidance, at first from curiosity and but seldom, afterwards from

love of excitement and still lower motives, he resorts to the theatre, — that fountain of pernicious influences, falsely named a school of morals.

A school of morals indeed ! Surely it was not a friend, but a concealed and bitter enemy, who, with grave but cutting irony, called the theatre a school of morals ! An institution where the unconscious pupils are but too readily and effectually indoctrinated and disciplined in immorality and licentiousness. If the object were to devise a scheme most efficiently to corrupt and debauch the moral sentiments and habits of young men, we verily believe, no more successful one could be invented than the establishment of the theatre, as it is got up in most large cities, with all its accompanying apparatus to minister to the low tastes and corrupt fancies of the lovers of pleasure ; and the more a veil of decency is thrown over it, — though, even in the public representation, on which female purity is expected to gaze, that veil of decency is often of transparent thinness, and sometimes is drawn wholly aside, — but the more effectually its indecencies are veiled and its unseemly things kept from observation, the worse it is, because more deceptive, and less likely to shock those whom it seeks to ensnare ; and the more that respectable people, looking only at what they see, and winking at what they see not, though they know it is there, countenance it and visit it, the more effectually does it accomplish the object of luring the young thither, and of drugging them with its intoxication. Alas, what with sweetening the poisonous draught, and garnishing the bowl, and pointing to the respectable people who are not ashamed to sip from it, can it be wondered that the poor, inexperienced youth goes unheedingly to his ruin, as a bird to the snare of the fowler, and knoweth not that it is for his life ! It cannot be doubted that the moral ruin of some of the most promising young men in the land began to be developed amidst the fatally exciting and imposing influences, which are almost always generated by a frequent attendance at theatres.

They, who have visited them but a few times in the course of their lives, and then without thinking of the moral tendencies of the scene around them, can with difficulty perhaps estimate rightly their mischievous effects in a community, and especially the hurt they do to the young. In our apprehension, theatrical representations, as they are conducted in large cities, are from beginning to end, schemes of intoxication ; as effect-

ally so as if they were deliberately concerted for that purpose. The plan is, not merely by alcoholic mixtures, — though those are never far off, — but by all artificial means and contrivances, to work upon the excitability of human nature, to stimulate it in the pursuit after pleasure to the pitch of intoxication, to create a habitual feverish thirst for those stimulants, and indeed for more and more potent ones, until at last, nothing but the maddening interest of the gambling table can gratify the diseased craving for excitement.

In too many cases the machinery put in operation produces its appropriate results. Of course, not in all cases ; — no general rule of this sort is without exceptions. Favorable circumstances, change of situation, remarkable events in providence, some recollections of touching incidents in the experience of early life, — some thought of the parent, the sister, the bosom-friend, to be struck down by his fall, — some conviction of the folly and madness of the course he is pursuing, may, in individual instances, come in to the rescue of enfeebled and staggering youthful virtue. In some instances, without supposing any religion in the case, the love of pleasure may be balanced and prevented from running to extremity by the intense pursuit of gain, or by the thirst for popular favor, one form of selfishness checking and controlling another ; and yet the character be as destitute of Christian principle, as essentially debased and corrupt, as that of any of the miserable victims of a life of dissipation.

We have dwelt at some length upon the seducements to a life of pleasure, with which young men are likely to be assailed on coming into the great world. But in this case, as in the others which have come under our consideration, the root of the evil is in the prevalence, we say not in the whole community, yet certainly in a very large and influential part of it, of loose and unchristian modes of thinking and speaking in regard to it. One of the most common and hurtful of the wrong sentiments on this subject, namely, that the theatre is a school of good morals, we have combated at considerable length. We certainly wish not to withhold from youth any indulgence that is really innocent ; but we cannot believe any institution innocent which, taken in all its influences, is rather a school of licentiousness than of virtue, and which is actually to many young men the commencement of degradation and ruin. Whatever relaxation or amusement leaves no sting of self-re-

proach behind, and no stain of impurity upon the heart, we would not condemn. We love to see the light and buoyant spirits of youth pouring themselves out in all innocent ways ;— but in the mirth of fools there is to our feelings something worse than folly. If there is any truth in religion, or any substance in virtue, the whole of what is called a life of pleasure must be considered little short of insanity.

The depraved state of the public sentiment, tolerating and justifying such habits of selfish dissipation, and sanctioning such fountains of licentious influence, calls rousingly upon young men to be soberminded, rightminded on this subject, true to the elevation and spirituality of the habitual thoughts, feelings, and purposes of their hearts. It calls on them to set out in life with a determination to avoid all the forms of artificial stimulation, by which men have insanely endeavored to create an unnatural appetite for self-indulgence. It calls on them to take the ground of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks ; to give their name and influence to carry forward the great change which is going on in the public mind in regard to the use of such drinks ;— a change which, it can hardly be doubted, is to be productive of incalculable good to those that shall come after us. It calls on them, in consistency with this principle, to shun all places of resort and amusement, which are designed to allure, to fascinate, to intoxicate, and which, in their general action upon the characters of those who attend upon them, are fatally pernicious. A single visit possibly might not sensibly injure a young man ;— but if he means to be guided by principle, he will not by a single indulgence of curiosity, give his countenance to an institution which on the whole he believes to be bad. In a word, let young men resolve to give the whole weight of their character and example in favor of right and of truth. Let them resolve never to be stumbling-blocks for any weak brother to fall over :— but rather to live so that whoever shall walk in their steps shall never have reason to be sorry for having done it, but shall in future worlds look back with joy unutterable upon the influence received from them.

R. F. W.

ART. V. — *The Miscellaneous Works of HENRY MACKENZIE, Esq.* Complete in one Volume. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1836.

IT has been remarked by Sir James Mackintosh, that "every work of genius in every department of art and polite literature, every poem, every oration, every picture, every statue, is an experiment on *human feeling*, the grand object of investigation by the moralist; and in proportion to the influence which these works have upon mankind are they worthy of examination. They are repositories of ethical facts, furnishing to the moral philosopher the most valuable materials of his science. Polite letters allure into the sciences of mind and morals; they form the channel through which moral science has a constant intercourse with general feeling." Coinciding with these views, we have turned to the examination of a work, formerly much read, and we trust not yet forgotten, Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, — a work purely sentimental, touching the sympathies of human nature, and awakening a tone of moral pathos which appeals strongly and directly to the heart.

Mackenzie has been termed the "Historian of Sentiment." All his works have the same tendency, the same object; they all seek to touch the heart, to excite the deep and kind and holy sensibilities. This is a province in which strong talent, purity of feeling, and delicacy of taste are essential to success. Sentiment in ordinary hands is apt to degenerate, — to lose its spirit and freshness. We see the attempt to play with our feelings, and we resist. But Mackenzie warms his own heart, and ours catches the glow; he details the incidents which excite his own sensibilities, and on reading the simple and faithful record ours also are awakened. So natural are his pictures of life, that we forget the painter in our deep interest in the scene.

"The Man of Feeling" was the first of his works, and we give it much the preference over his later productions. It leaves a more pleasant impression than "The Man of the World," and "Julia de Roubigné" perhaps too painfully affects the feelings. One such work is sufficient for his reputation; this appears to us to be the bold and strong sketching, which afterwards subdued into a more perfect picture has less power over us.

The *Man of Feeling* is a collection of incidents, not a de-

tailed story. It purports to be the publication of a mutilated manuscript, a large part of which had been used by a country curate, when on shooting excursions, as wadding for his gun. Of course it appears imperfect, is without plot, and has no other aim than to exhibit the power of incident over the heart. To use the author's words, "It is no more a history than a sermon; it is a bundle of little episodes put together without art, and of no importance on the whole, with something of nature and little else in them."

Harley, the hero, is a man of extreme sensibility. His education was such as developed strongly the moral sentiments; he is represented as benevolent even to excess, ardent in his feelings, yet reserved and contemplative. Living almost secluded in the country, he was preserved from a knowledge of the pollutions and the duplicity which darken the mart of busy life. Possessing a moderate income, a few friends, with a heart alive to the beauties of nature, his desire was to shut out the world, and to pass his days in seclusion; his ideas of pomp and grandeur only serving to endear the state which Providence had assigned him. But this tranquillity was not destined to continue.

"There are never wanting to a young man," says our author, "some grave and prudent friends to set him right if he need it, to watch his ideas as they arise, and point them to those objects which a wise man should never forget. Harley did not want for some monitors of this sort. He was frequently told of men, whose fortunes enabled them to command all the luxuries of life, whose fortunes were of their own acquirement."

These prudent friends urged him to apply for the lease of some crown lands which lay contiguous to his little paternal estate, thereby to increase his property. He had not much relish for the attempt, but he could not resist the torrent of motives which assaulted him. He was furnished with a letter of introduction to a certain Baronet, "who had a good deal to say to the first Lord of the treasury," and he commenced his journey to London without any heart in the business, and with very much the feeling of the child who submits to hard necessity and turns to school, leaving the sunny fields and glassy brooks, when he would gladly linger still.

A few incidents of the journey, the effect of London scenes on his simplicity and ignorance of the ways of the world, —

his disappointment and return, with one or two sketches of his after life, compose the work. But these are related so naturally and so artlessly, that we feel a deep interest in Harley, and love him as one of our friends. There is, besides this portraiture of benevolence and purity, a tone of gentleness running through the whole, which awakens a kindly feeling within us. We not only have excited a deeper interest in others, but there comes over us the assurance that the path of virtue is the only safe and pleasant one; and that if ever we find it dark and dreary, it is when we have come suddenly from the glaring sun-shine of the world, and we do not see clearly in its mellowed light. The whole story can be read in a half hour; and it is so simple in its style, so disconnected, so unpretending, that perhaps some may deem us extravagant in our estimate of its merits. If any so regard it, we will not attempt to change their opinions; it is a matter of feeling, not of argument. We claim for our author a deep pathos, and a powerful sway over the moral sentiments; we know that in many hearts he can awaken the strong and kindly emotions that perchance cold Philosophy had lulled to sleep; that he can calm the feverish anxiety of the care-worn, simple, artless, and unpretending as he is.

Our purpose is now to select some passages which exhibit the characteristics of Mackenzie's writings. In our quotations we shall not follow the order in which they occur in the work, but cite those which best serve to exhibit his peculiar traits.

We extract the following passages as illustrative of Harley's character, and as a specimen of the author's talent in describing natural scenery. Harley was on his return from London, and was travelling on foot.

"This was a method of travelling which he was accustomed to take; it saved the trouble of provision for any animal but himself, and left him at liberty to choose his quarters, either at an inn, or at the first cottage in which he saw a face he liked; nay, when he was not peculiarly attracted by the reasonable creation, he would sometimes consort with a species of inferior rank, and lay himself down to sleep by the side of a rock, or on the banks of a rivulet. He did few things without a motive, but his motives were rather eccentric; and the usual and expedient were terms which he held to be rather indefinite, and which therefore he did not always apply in the sense in which they are commonly understood.

"The sun was now in his decline, and the evening remarkably serene, when he entered a hollow part of the road which winded between the surrounding banks, and seamed the sward in different lines, as the choice of travellers had directed them to tread it. It appeared to be little frequented now, for some of these had partly recovered their former verdure. The scene was such as induced Harley to stand and enjoy it; when, turning round, his notice was attracted by an object, which the fixture of his eye on the spot he walked had before prevented him from observing.

"An old man, who from his dress seemed to have been a soldier, lay fast asleep on the ground; a knapsack rested on a stone at his right hand, while his staff, and brass-hilted sword were crossed at his left.

"Harley looked on him with the most earnest attention. He was one of those figures which Salvator would have drawn; nor was the surrounding scenery unlike the wildness of that painter's back-grounds. The banks on each side were covered with fantastic shrub-wood, and, at a little distance, on the top of one of them stood a finger-post, to mark the directions of two roads which diverged from the point where it was placed. A rock, with some dangling wild-flowers jutted out above where the soldier lay, on which grew the stump of a large tree, white with age, and a single twisted branch shaded his face as he slept. His face had the marks of manly comeliness impaired by time; his forehead was not altogether bald, but his hairs might have been numbered; while a few white locks behind crossed the brown of his neck, with a contrast the most venerable to a mind like Harley's." * * * * "The stranger waked. He looked at Harley with an appearance of some confusion; it was a pain the latter knew too well to think of causing in another; he turned and went on." * * * *

"When Harley heard the tread of his feet behind him, he could not help stealing back a glance at his fellow-traveller. He seemed to bend under the weight of his knapsack; he halted in his walk, and one of his arms was supported in a sling, and lay motionless across his breast. He had that steady look of sorrow, which indicates that its owner has gazed upon his griefs till he has forgotten to lament them; yet not without those streaks of complacency which a good mind will sometimes throw into the countenance, through all the incumbent load of its depression."

This old man proves to be one of the friends of Harley's early childhood, on whose knee he had often sat when a boy.

He relates the misfortunes which have reduced him to his present state. The passage, where he recounts the manner in which he was turned out of his farm, is exceedingly touching. His lease had expired, and he was not allowed to renew it, unless he would take an additional quantity of land, and pay a much higher rent.

"But what could I do, Mr. Harley? I feared the undertaking was too great for me; yet to leave at my age the house I had lived in from my cradle! I could not, Mr. Harley, I could not; there was not a tree about it that I did not look on as my father, my brother, or my child; so I even run the risk, and took the squire's offer of the whole. But I had soon reason to repent of my bargain." * * * *

"Had you seen us, Mr. Harley, when we were turned out of South-hill, I am sure you would have wept at the sight. You remember old Trusty, my shag house-dog; I shall never forget it while I live; the poor creature was blind with age, and could scarce crawl after us to the door; he went, however, as far as the gooseberry-bush, which you may remember stood on the left side of the yard; he was wont to bask in the sun there; when he had reached that spot, he stopped, we went on; I called to him; he wagged his tail, but did not stir; I called again; he lay down; I whistled, and cried 'Trusty;' he gave a short howl and died! — I could have lain down and died too, but God gave me strength to live for my children."

We might multiply quotations of this character, but it seems hardly necessary to extract largely from a work which has been so long before the public. Besides, our purpose is not so much to review the work critically, as to examine the effect which it has upon the feelings.

Mackenzie in all his writings has shown great power in the pathetic, — a talent more rare than is usually imagined. Something more is required to move us than a correct delineation of sorrow, or a general account of the afflictive circumstances which have produced it. The heaping together of all the incidents and aspects of grief will not touch the chord of sympathy. We do not feel affliction as an aggregate. It is measured by some slight circumstance, as the bent branch and quivering leaf betoken the strength of the storm. Mackenzie therefore singles out some little circumstance, and places it before us with that distinctness, that before we are aware of it we feel the thrill in our bosoms. This is the key to his power over us.

In order to illustrate still further the effect of incidents trifling in themselves, in giving a vivid impression, we will quote, as best suited to our purpose, Sterne's well known description of the Captive. The first few sentences give the outline in strong language. He is said to be pale, feverish, his body half wasted away in long expectation and confinement. Sorrowful as we feel in reading this, it appears but as one of the thousand calamities which are continually presenting themselves. Our sympathies come not in their strength at this call; such scenes have been described too often. But who can read what follows without strong emotion? "For thirty years the western breeze had not fanned his blood. He had seen no sun nor moon in all that time, nor had the voice of friend or kinsman breathed through the lattice. He was sitting on the ground, upon a bundle of straw in the corner of his dungeon, which was alternately his chair and bed; a little calendar of small sticks was laid at his head, notched all over with the dismal days and nights he had passed there. He had one of these in his hand, and with a rusty nail he was etching another day of misery to add to the heap. As I darkened the little light he had, he lifted up a hopeless eye towards the door, then cast it down, shook his head, and went on with his work of affliction. I heard the chains upon his legs, as he turned his body to lay his little stick upon the bundle."

It is so in Nature. There is no scene which she presents to us which awakens strong feeling as a whole. Our attention must be fixed to its minor points, if we would escape a weak and ill-defined idea of beauty or sublimity. The Ocean stretches itself out before us; it engrosses us at first, yet the wearied eye soon turns from its vastness to watch the sun-beam, as it flashes on the top of the wave. We go out in the spring-time, — the green fields how beautiful they are! the dark forest, and the bright stream that threads its way through the valley, the blossom, and the foliage! yet these strike not the heart with that gush of pleasure, as does the first note of the robin, borne to us upon the early breath of Spring, while yet the earth has not put on her garb of joy. And in the storm, too, when the northern blast sweeps fiercely over the snow-wreath, breaking the stillness of night with its hoarse moan, it is perhaps the light from the distant half-curtained window, bringing the thought of home to the benighted traveller, which makes him shudder at the blast that before he had braved. In a heavy

calamity its whole weight bears upon us with an even pressure, it benumbs us, we scarcely feel; then suddenly a trifle, some little memorial of other days flashes upon us, and we are overcome.

We can learn a lesson from this, if we will. Our happiness depends not so much on general success, as on the minutiae of every-day life. Things little in themselves touch us all more nearly than we are apt to suppose. Seldom has any man the opportunity to do any great good, but ever can he be "the father and the dealer out of some small blessings." The gem, which we seek with toil in the summit of the mountain, we might often find in our beaten path, would we but stoop for it.

"'T is a little thing
To give a cup of water, yet its draught
Of cool refreshment, drained by fevered lips,
May send a thrill of pleasure through the frame,
More exquisite than when nectarian juice
Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.
It is a little thing to speak a phrase
Of common comfort, which by daily use
Has almost lost its sense; yet on the ear
Of him who thought to die unmourned, 't will fall
Like choicest music."

To return. A sentimental man, as the world understands the phrase, is generally an object of ridicule, and perhaps deservedly so. It is equivalent to a kind heart, and a weak head. We connect with such a character the ideas of effeminacy, inability to withstand the common trials of life, a nervous irritability, that unfits one to act his part where energy and firmness are required. It calls up in our mind a man who loves to cry over the sorrows of some love-sick swain, or to drivel over the exquisite mystifications of modern poetry; a man with sunken cheeks, swollen eyes, and a shuffling, undecided gait; one who would faint at the sight of blood, who would only be in the way when trouble actually occurs.

Thus in common hands there is danger in describing a *Man of Feeling*,—one with acute sensibilities and gentleness of soul, lest there should be presented the mere "Quixote of sentiment," whom few can love, and none respect. Mackenzie has avoided this, and has taught us that true sentiment is an object of reverence.

The manner in which he effects this is easily explained. The man who seeks distress as an excitement, who riots over

his griefs, who is a mere driveller with tears in his eyes, and his arms folded in apathy, always appears contemptible; but that sensibility is never an object of ridicule, which is bent upon relieving the distress which excites it. Mere feeling may be weakness, — join it with active benevolence, and we bow to it, as that which gives true dignity to the character. This is not a theory only; the world practically admits it.

If a man can look back on the road of life which he has travelled over, and see many a spot where he took the weary ones by the hand, or, to speak less figuratively, if he can think over in his mind the warm blankets with which he has covered the palsied limbs of the poor old man, the bright fires that he has lighted up in the hut of poverty, or can call to mind the dimpled cheek and bright eye of the child, laughing in the fulness of infant glee, — and that too, because when it was a poor, forsaken, half-famished thing, he heard its cry, — and if he should wanton over the recollection, or if he should undertake a “sentimental journey,” for other trophies of the same kind, who, we ask, would incline to ridicule *his* sentiment?

Harley, when in London, was accosted in the street by an abandoned woman in a state of utter destitution. She was literally starving. He answered her kindly, heard her story, and gave her temporary relief. Perceiving that she was really too feeble to walk, he sent her in a chair to her lodgings, promising to see her again the next morning. On recounting the incidents of this meeting to some friends, they burst into a loud laugh at his credulous simplicity, which could be so deceived by one of her class. Harley retired, doubting the propriety of keeping his engagement, when his motives might be suspected, and his pity was apparently so hopeless. We continue in Mackenzie's words.

“The last night's raillery of his companions was recalled to his remembrance when he awoke, and the colder homilies of prudence began to suggest some things, which were nowise favorable for a performance of his promise to the unfortunate female, he had met with before. He rose uncertain of his purpose; but the torpor of such considerations was seldom prevalent over the warmth of his nature. He walked some turns backwards and forwards in the room; he recalled the languid form of the fainting wretch to his mind; he wept at the recollection of her tears. He recalled her words, ‘Though I am the vilest of beings, I have not forgotten every virtue; gratitude

I hope I shall still have left.' He took a larger stride. 'Powers of mercy that surround me,' cried he, 'do ye not smile upon deeds like these? To calculate the chances of deception, is too tedious a business for the life of man.'"

The result of this visit was the restoration of the lost sheep to the fold. He gave her to the arms of a father whose love was strong enough to cover up her guilt-stains. If you would weigh the value of Sentiment, think of Harley's emotions when he accomplished this, and compare them with the feelings of her seducer, when he abandoned his victim to her degradation. We know of no words strong enough to mark the contrast.

Disappointed in obtaining the "crown lands," the object of his visit to London, Harley returned immediately, and it was on this journey homewards that the meeting with old Edwards before described occurred. He also finds Edwards' grandchildren, whom he rescues from the cold charity of the parish; for their parents had long since died of broken hearts, and with this retinue he returned to the home of his fathers, better pleased than if he had been accompanied by the trappings of an augmented fortune. Wealth to him was no object, when he had sufficient to say to old Edwards, —

"I was thinking of you and your children; I learned last night that a small farm of mine in the neighborhood is now vacant; if you will occupy it I shall gain a good neighbor, and be able in some degree to repay the notice you took of me when a boy; and as the furniture in the house is mine, it will be so much trouble saved."

"The house upon this farm was indeed little better than a hut. Its situation, however, was pleasant, and Edwards, assisted by the beneficence of Harley, set about improving its neatness and convenience. He staked out a piece of the green before the door for a garden, and Peter, who acted in Harley's little family as valet, butler, and gardener, had orders to furnish him with parcels of the different seeds he chose to sow in it. I have seen his master at work in this little spot, with his coat off and his dibble in his hand; it was a scene of tranquil virtue to have stopped an angel on his errand of mercy! Harley had contrived to lead a little bubbling brook through a green walk in the middle of the ground, upon which he had erected a mill in miniature, for the diversion of Edwards' infant grandson, and made shifts in its construction to introduce a pliant bit of wood, that answered with its fairy clack to the murmuring of the rill that turned it. I have seen him stand, listening to these mingled sounds, with

his eye fixed upon the boy, and the smile of conscious satisfaction on his cheek ; while the old man, with a look half turned to Harley and half to Heaven, breathed an ejaculation of gratitude and piety."

"Father of mercies ! I also would thank thee, that not only hast thou assigned eternal rewards to virtue, but that even in this bad world, the lines of our duty and our happiness are so frequently woven together."

We cite these passages to exhibit the energy in benevolence which gives to feeling its dignity and commands our respect ; but they also show another striking trait in Mackenzie's writings. We refer to *moral purity*. His delicacy of taste throws a winning charm over his fictions ; a tone of gentleness seems to pervade the whole. They leave on the mind the same impressions as the purity of Burns in his *Cotter's Saturday Night*, or the kind-heartedness of Isaac Walton in his quaint discourses on his "gentle art." Even in Mackenzie's satirical moments, and there is much keen satire scattered through the work, there is nothing to diminish our love where love is due, nothing to detract from our reverence where reverence is due, nothing to offend the most fastidious delicacy. At times his playfulness amuses us, but he never trifles with sentiment, or permits any jesting with feelings which the affections have consecrated.

How different in this respect is he from Sterne ! Both rest on sentiment as their strength ; both are distinguished for their power to move the heart. We have already quoted from Sterne, and we believe that the description of the prisoner, the stories of Le Fevre and of Maria have never been surpassed in strength of interest or depth of pathos. These sketches have warmed many a heart to kindness. The single expression in the story of Maria, "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," has become the common property of grief. How often has it reassured the discouraged, how often has it brightened the eye of the sufferer !

But such is not the general character of Sterne's works. These beauties stand out in bold contrast from the accompanying extravagance and wild humor. He has no holy ground, no sacred spot from which he fences out all that would defile its purity. So far from this, he seems to delight in bringing together things the most opposite in their nature,—impurity with the most delicate sentiment,—burlesque and

ludicrous conceptions with the most serious things of life, — indecent raillery with strong pathos. He forgets, we trust the expression is not too strong, that he who has a God to swear by has no God to pray to ; and he that uses the pure sympathies of our nature, as objects of wit and ridicule, loses the freshness and delicacy of the gentle affections. The sacred, the beautiful perish in the atmosphere of impurity.

But the last sentence which Sterne wrote for the public, shows that he himself doubted and feared the effect of his writings. His soul is addressing his body as in a dream. “By thy present tears I will endeavor to purge away the foul stains of thy past actions. Thy present humility may obliterate the remembrance of thy former vanity. Have not thy works tended to the corruption of the age, to the depravity of the morals of the rising generation ? What recompense canst thou offer ? Not thy religious discourses, — they are but a small counterpoise, and read but by a few.”

But there was a kind-heartedness about him, which extenuates his faults. Alas, poor Yorick !

We can hardly appreciate the effect of what is termed light-reading, or popular literature, on the character of a people. It is continually and extensively in action. If a public library be examined, the vast amount of this reading will be perceived. The dust rests on the Arts, the Sciences, on Theology and Metaphysics, while the wear of Poetry and Novels shows their frequent use. The solid are occasionally referred to ; the books which exhibit life are always in requisition. The thumb marks refer you to the pages, and the pencil marks usually point to the passages which touch the heart. We all read more for warmth than light ; more for excitement than for the love of truth. Many seem ashamed to acknowledge it, but we demonstrate by the choice that we prefer sentiment to thought.

Perhaps in saying that sentiment is preferred to thought, we use the word sentiment in a more general sense than is usually given to it. We consider it as expressive of that large class of emotions which we cannot trace either to the intellect or to the passions ; something midway from both ; more ethereal than the one, more palpable than the other ; something which impresses us the most strongly when bodily appetites sleep, and which sways the untutored, perhaps even more than the refined and cultivated. We feel it in the love we have for home,

and in the tie which binds us to our country ; it smiles upon us as we gather in domestic scenes, it consecrates the graves of our fathers ; it is friendship's light, and the sun of virtuous love ; it forms the deep and sweet interest of the most hallowed connexion of life ; we hear it in the cry which rends the air when the people rejoice together, and in the soft step of the friend who watches around the sick bed. It binds mind to mind, imparting a lively sympathy in all which has life, and even endears to us the aspect of Nature ; it opens the hand of charity, and starts the willing tear. It is reverence to Him who is over all, and to the great and pure everywhere.

An eminent writer has justly observed, that " to seek a foundation for universal, ardent, early, and immediate feeling in processes of an intellectual nature, has been the grand source of the errors of ethical inquiries into human nature." By many the very existence of sentiment, of the moral sense, has been doubted. This very important part of our nature for ages was without a name. It has now no technical term in systems of moral philosophy. The errors resulting from this indefiniteness, this confounding of thought with feeling, has tended to keep the science of morals as it were upon a dead level ; to draw its votaries through a dark and dreary road ; and it was not until the doctrine of Christianity — *love* its corner-stone — penetrated the labyrinth of human reason, and became its very light and life, that man would submit to the truth, and incorporate the moral sense into his systems of philosophy. It is therefore Religion, and not the human intellect, that has brought down the most beautiful forms of moral truth to the humblest stations of society.

It begins now to be admitted that reason as reason is never a motive to action. Principles and truths are nothing in themselves ; they touch not the spring of action ; they mould not the character. Principles must be embodied in action to test their value, and truth itself must be a personification ere it affect us. Our business is with life, not with abstractions. Here, in the outpourings of the heart, lies the only deep interest of human nature.

If the movements and feelings of life in its joys and sorrows be thus interesting, if principles embodied in action in the popular literature thus affect the tone of moral sentiment, it becomes a matter of importance what is the character of this reading.

In works of learning the errors may be detected by the read-

er's own judgment. Wrong dates, mistaken facts, imperfect description, false reasoning, can all be rectified by subsequent reading. The reason is cool, and rarely suffers itself to be imposed upon in its search after truth. Creative genius, on the other hand, by its warmth and eloquence, carries us away captive. We do not judge, or analyze—we feel. There is a sympathy among men, which causes others to catch the glow, be it fever, or be it health. A moral disease may be thus thrown through society. There is a delicacy in Sentiment, a quick sensitiveness, which exposes it to almost irreparable injury; and so far as happiness is concerned, it matters little whether a morbid sensibility, or a chill to the affections is the consequence, for a nervous irritability, and a loss of the gentle affections are equally to be dreaded.

There is a class of works now much in vogue, which has the most pernicious influence on moral sentiment. It is the “Satanic school,”—the pouring out of gall and wormwood upon the social affections,—the seeking for effect from the exposure of human nature in her weakness and infirmities. A heartless infidelity, a cold misanthropy conjures up all that is degrading and disgusting for the sake of excitement; and when this palls, the profane jesting seeks a higher object. Love, the wood-nymph, is changed into the goddess with the zoneless waist; friendship is interest; patriotism a cheat; and right and wrong of the same nature. The poets of this school have changed the emblems of their craft,—the swine and the goat have expelled the dove and the lamb.

This “Satanic” character belongs not only to much of the poetry of the day, but a large part of the popular novels must also be ranked in this school. We take “Eugene Aram” as the type of this class. Their fictions are but the detail of crime in its various hues and aspects. Over indelicacy they hang only a transparent veil, and that more for ornament than concealment. Yet the injury they inflict upon virtuous feelings is not so much by open attack, as by a cold sneering at the sacred things of life, a bold and dexterous use of misanthropic satire. They throw the charm of deep excitement over their scenes, and chain their readers to this dissecting-room of poor human nature by an awful and shuddering interest. We will quote from “Eugene Aram” one or two passages, both to exhibit the character of novels of this class, and to show how strong is the contrast between Bulwer and Mackenzie.

“ ‘And what,’ exclaimed Aram, breaking in upon her, ‘what is this world which we ransack, but a stupendous charnel house. Everything which we deem most lovely — ask its origin — decay! when we rifle nature and collect wisdom, are we not like the hags of old, culling simples from the rank grave, and extracting sorceries from the rotting bones of the dead? Everything around us is fathered by corruption, battered by corruption, and into corruption it returns at last.’ ”

Again.

“ The colors of our existence were doomed before our birth; — our sorrows, — our crimes. — Millions of ages back, when this hoary earth was peopled with other kinds, yea ere its atoms had formed one layer of its present soil, — the eternal and all-seeing Ruler of the universe — Destiny or God — had here fixed the moment of our birth and the limits of our career; — what then is crime? Fate! What is life? Submission.”

These are words spoken by the hero of the work, with whom the reader is supposed to sympathize, in whom he is to feel a strong interest.

As an instance of profane jesting, we quote the following.

“ The notion of the corporal’s by which he would have likened the kingdom of Heaven to the King of Prussia’s body-guard, and only admitted the elect on account of their *inches*, so tickled mine host, that he leaned back in the chair and indulged in a long, dry laugh.”

Thus Bulwer makes an “old, poor woman” speak of the Bible.

“ ‘Och yes! the bible’s a mighty comfort, for it says as much that the rich man shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven. There’s a truth for you that makes the poor folks’ heart as merry as a cricket; ho! ho! I sits by the imbers of a night, and thinks, and thinks, as how I shall see you all a burning; and ye’ll ask *me* for a drop of water, and I shall laugh thin from my pleasant seat among the angels.’ ”

But we forbear; the remainder of the passage is altogether unfit for transcription.

Such reading, when continued, produces a morbid sensibility, a constant thirst for strong stimulants; and this intoxication of the mind creates a mist over the boundaries between right and wrong. An incalculable injury is done. The moral sense becomes deadened. The chord of sympathy must be struck

harshly ere it will vibrate; the delicate touches of gentleness and kindness can awaken no sound. Nature, in her tranquillity, has lost all power; friend and associate in domestic life no longer interest. Common pursuits, the thousand little joys of home are insipid; the monotony of every-day life becomes weariness. Yet in this monotony are we destined to live; and if we would be happy, our Sentiment must be educated to act in those scenes which usually present themselves. We all, for the most part, must travel on the beaten road. With our fellow travellers, with our mutual pursuits, our common duties, our sympathies must flow freely, or this beaten track will lose all interest, and we travel on weary and heart-sick. The palace must not be continually in the mind's eye, when the cottage is to be our home.

For these reasons the novels of Fielding and Smollet, bad as they are, are to be preferred to many of the modern extravagances. They "hold the mirror up to Nature," though it must be confessed they so adjust the glass as to exhibit an undue proportion of the viler scenes of Nature. The common vices, however, if we must choose, are less pernicious than the abuse of the soul. Open indelicacy is too revolting to injure minds, which may be carried away willing captives by the sorcery which changes all that is good and pure into poison. The ebullitions of passion may be checked, but the confounding of virtue and vice, the up-breaking of the moral sentiments produces an incurable disease. To use the language of Mackenzie, "this contempt of things sacred undermines the very foundations on which the fabric of religion is reared — beats down the columns which support the weakness of humanity."

The "Man of Feeling" is a faithful portraiture of life as it actually is. Mackenzie has not drawn uncommon incident, he has not left the healthy portion to depict the excrescences of human nature. There is no scene which does not possess features in common with such as often occur to every one. Virtue and vice are thrown wide asunder, and appear in deep and full contrast. He has preserved the feelings of the heart from coarse mixtures. He has watchfully guarded the reverence for holy things, and we rise from the work refreshed, more fitted for the duties of life, with the sympathies warmed to all that is good in our natures.

As we have before observed, we decide upon the value of a work of science by the new ideas, the additional truths it gives

us; we can measure our gains as something apart from ourselves, which, though not visible and tangible, yet are certain and definite. But when we close the novel, it leaves upon the mind, though often unperceived by it, some peculiar bias, some certain tendency. From works of learning we collect the fruit; from fiction we inhale the aroma of the blossom; — we can throw away the fruit which displeases us, but the perfume has been breathed, whether it be healthy or poisonous.

The tone which novel reading gives to the mind is not the most pure or the most elevated. There are many exceptions to this general remark, yet it is nevertheless true on the whole, that Fiction draws her power almost altogether from crime. The world she describes has but few scenes of purity, few exhibitions of kindly feeling, little of the praiseworthy discharge of duty. In depicting low life, she exhibits nothing of it but its vulgarity. Passing by the thousand interesting scenes, which contented, honest poverty might present, — the cheerful labor, the Sunday rest, the ready unbought service, the devoted though homely affection, the fervid if unenlightened faith, — she introduces us for our amusement only to the tavern, the gun-room, or the gipsy camp. In fashionable life she bids us listen to the insipid prattle of the drawing-room, and when weary of that, enlivens us by the unfaithfulness of a wife, the sordidness of a father, or the total disregard of filial obligation in the children. Or she pictures luxurious wantonness, or intense selfishness, seeking its own gratification with a perfect recklessness of consequences. Again she deals in the supernatural, and only makes us acquainted with a whole convent of fiends. Historical novels, though in many respects superior, yet almost invariably relate to times of war and civil commotion; the prison, the field of blood, the traitor's fate, the pistol, and the dirk compose their interest. All seek to describe the worst part of man, that which connects him with the brute, — that which allies him to Heaven seems buried and forgotten. The lower passions only are brought out. Vice is the groundwork of the whole. So true is this that it has been said, that "the mind, brooding over the intention to commit a crime, appears to be employed in collecting and arranging the incidents for a tale."

We can all recollect the time when we changed our reading from children's books — Mrs. Barbauld's exquisite touches per-

haps, or Berquin's "Children's Friend" — to the common fictions of the day. How great was our surprise. We knew nothing of the world then, but had colored it from the simple purity of our own hearts. When we sketched man, a father sat for the picture, — woman was the image of our mother or sister; and the world's atmosphere seemed pure as that of our own household. How the affections trembled as they looked out from the spot of peace upon the moral waste spread out by the Novelist.

Now is it not the fact that our first impressions are nearer the truth? There are thousands and thousands of cottage homes studing the land, as pure and peaceful as the miniature world of our childhood, filled with the innocent, the intelligent, the chaste, and the beautiful; where Sentiment smiles upon the cradle of infancy, and places upon the hoary head the crown of reverence; where love is not only the purple tint of the morning, but is the noon-day light, and the evening's softened ray; where a countless number of little charities, each a drop in itself, united form the deep and broad stream of human happiness. Bad as is this world of ours, vice dares not show herself in the open day. She draws the veil of darkness over her deeds. An outraged community would frown upon such displays of the violation of the moral law, as are looked upon by novel readers with the most perfect composure. We do not do justice to the moral sentiment of the community.

Sentiment is the very life of the heart. It is the only resting point for happiness. Without it man is governed only by animal instincts, and the grosser passions; for however learned, however strong may be the intellect, he can neither love his brother man, nor his Creator, God!

The power of Fiction over Sentiment is generally underrated; but we are sure that the fictions of vulgar life, the portraiture of the criminal, and the sketching of all that is polluting in its nature, must deprive the mind of its purity. We cannot become thus familiarized with vice without danger. It makes but little difference whether it be the evil thoughts of others, or our own, that find a resting place within us. To be useful to us, Fiction, if she do not rise higher than human nature commonly is, should at least soar above its abuses. The philanthropist should look to this. He must enlist creative genius in his service, and thus provide more healthy food for the insatiable appetite. He mistakes when he supposes that reason, proud

reason, is the instrument by which the world is to be moved onward. He mistakes when he would give more light, but forgets to purify the atmosphere; for man can close his eyes to the sun's brightest beams, but the air he breathes continually.

S. E. C.

ART. VI. — *Cinq Mois aux États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord, depuis le 29 Avril jusqu'au 23 Septembre 1835; Journal de Voyage de M. RAMON DE LA SAGRA, Directeur de Jardin des Plantes de la Havane, &c. Traduit de l'Espagnol, par M. RENÉ BAÏSSAS. Paris, chez F. G. Levrault, 1837. 8vo. pp. 458.*

THE writer of this journal of a five months' tour in our country had made himself favorably known, during his residence in Havana, by the publication of his Statistical History of Cuba, which was noticed in one of the late numbers of our work.* We understand that he is now in Spain, where he is engaged in the mazes of Spanish politics; and that he has also undertaken the preparation of a Physical, Political, and Natural History of Cuba, which is to be illustrated with magnificent plates in folio, and to be published in *livraisons*, or parts. From the politics we cannot help wishing him a safe delivery; and to the appearance of his History of Cuba we look forward with great interest.

When M. de la Sagra left Cuba, he did not intend to pass even five months in the United States; but on his arrival at New York he soon became so deeply interested in the observation of our various institutions, that he found himself compelled to prolong his stay, and he certainly made good use of the time which he spent among us. He is a warm and honest admirer of our usual modes of thinking and acting, of our national manners, of our economical improvements and inventions, of our prison discipline, public charities, and public means of instruction. But in the mean time his admiration does not blind his judgment, or deceive him into the belief that what is good for us, must necessarily be good for his countrymen, and be forth-

* For September, 1837.

with adopted by them. On this point he expresses his mind, in his Introduction, very sensibly, as follows.

"Some persons will take notice of the enthusiasm with which I speak of the institutions of the United States, and will think that I mean to propose them as models to our unhappy Spain; but I here protest against such an intention. Far be it from me to present the savory fruits of the robust tree, which flourishes in the privileged soil of the Union, to the Spanish people, who are so little able to digest them. On the contrary, I conjure those, who sincerely love the country, to concentrate their efforts in diffusing literary, moral, and religious instruction among the masses, instead of exciting them by the image of benefits which they cannot comprehend. In this way only they may advance the establishment of those principles, on which social happiness and the development of the productive energies depend. Thus only can be promoted the growth of the tender plant of liberty. Let it be left to time and nature to accomplish their course toward maturity, the period of blossoms and of fruit."

The view which our author takes of the causes of the degeneracy of Spain, and other portions of continental Europe, evince still further the sound and prudent character of his patriotism; and what he says concerning the passionate devotion to amusement and an out-door life, which is there indulged in, deserves the consideration of those of our countrymen, who, innoculated with the same passion, by a few months of foreign gayety and sight-seeing, would wish to introduce it—God forbid that they should—upon our own shores. He is speaking of some contrasts which are offered by their institutions.

"On the one hand, there is an alarming disproportion between the ordinary means of existence, the price of labor, the recompense of industry, and the amount of those social pleasures which excite the desires of the active and laborious classes. On the other, there is a parasitical population of foundlings and mendicants, idly consuming the resources of public and private benevolence. And then, at the termination of these two highways of ambition and misery, the whole company of victims come together, to be swept into the prisons and galleys, horrible sinks of corruption and depravity, hells, as it were, of demoralization, whence they are vomited back on society, to corrupt innocence anew. In reflecting on the erroneous principles which ferment and keep alive the vices, it seems that, notwithstanding

the remarkable degree of civilization to which Europe has attained, she is found to be under the influence of the genius of evil, who kindles the fires of disorder, breathes his destructive spirit over the most numerous classes, and employs as combustibles those refinements and allurements of luxury which draw people with a kind of madness towards pleasures, where the sacrifice of virtue is almost always demanded. In vain do philanthropists and governments address themselves to extinguish a conflagration, which threatens universal ruin; for the utmost they can do is to hide the wounds, and stifle the cries of the victims."

His allusion to religion, in the succeeding paragraph, is evidence of his just sentiments on that head.

"In the midst of this astounding confusion, which impartial and foresighted men cannot deny, are to be recognised the principal causes of the evil, and of that sore of demoralization which is festering in the bosom of a most civilized and enlightened people. We discern the beacon-light which shines through the darkness of the tempest, but we fear to announce the port of safety, because its holy shelter has been profaned. The fury of reform is not content with pulling down all that has been founded by man, but attacks also the sanctuary of God; and the name, which ought to serve as an asylum and bulwark for the regeneration of a demoralized community, bears far different significations to the ears of the multitude."

From premises of this nature, he arrives at precisely such wise and moderate conclusions as we should beforehand have expected.

"What then is necessary for a community constituted like that of Spain? *Education and Reforms*. I will not speak of political and administrative reform, an object of actual revolution, and regarded in divers manners by the parties who are tearing the country asunder. The object which I propose to myself in this book is the recommendation of primary education and moral reform to the Spanish people; a reform, the importance of which is perceived by all minds; for, struggling incessantly as we advance in the work of melioration, we must begin with the beginning, if we would build with solidity."

He says that he expects to be condemned by the violent on both sides in his own country, for doctrines and facts distasteful to them both. The liberals, for instance, will be alarmed at the severity of the moral and religious duties which are upheld

in the United States ; and the absolutists will be scandalized at hearing him praise the virtue and piety of a nation of republicans. He nevertheless will declare to the former that they may try in vain to find any other foundation than strict morals for the happiness of the Spanish people ; and he will advise the latter to imitate the conduct of the children of liberty, if they wish to make religion lovely and respectable.

Having given an idea of our author's purpose, and of the general views advanced in his Introduction, let us turn to the body of his work. It may be worth while to remark, that he arrived in New York when the fever for land speculation was burning, not only in that city but throughout the whole country. "Speculators," he observes, "are wholly absorbed in the purchase of lands on Long Island. One of my friends has just told me, that three individuals who had purchased, three months ago, to the extent of six thousand dollars, having sold their lots yesterday, had divided from the proceeds eighty-five thousand dollars apiece. At the same time, some cooler persons abstain from these operations, and think that the end of it all will be the ruin of numbers." This was in April, 1835. The prediction of these cooler persons has been sadly verified. Many have been ruined, and many more have been greatly injured ; and so it will always be, when the desire of wealth gets the better of discretion, and calculations of the increase of property outrun time and probability. With all our advantages as a nation, we have sore temptations, temptations which are all the more powerful and to be feared, as they arise mainly from those very advantages. Our circumstances urge us to hastiness in all things. We are all the time on the race. We race after riches, and multitudes are thrown out and crippled. We race after distinction and station in life, and many are prematurely broken down. We race in travelling from one part of our country to another, and explosions on the river and wrecks on the sea proclaim the dismal consequences. We race after changes and reforms, after new philosophies and new religions, before we have appropriated half the benefits, or learned half the wisdom of the established and old ; and confusion and irritation attend the course. Some among us are seriously sick of all this racing, and would fain give up something of our presumed progress, and a great deal of our talk about progress, for a little more safety, and a little more quietness. We are not losing our hope in the permanent interests of our country, nor our honest pride

in our free and religious institutions, nor our faith in the general good sense and final success of our countrymen ; but we are occasionally losing our patience at the recklessness which assumes the name of advancement, at the crudities which are flourished before our eyes as wisdom, and at the many abuses which are committed of fair opportunity and ample freedom. We are all the while convinced, that we possess many good things and ways in this vigorous young country of ours, which are not to be found in time-worn Europe. We heartily sympathize with the enthusiastic and open mind of our author, which has perceived them, and which would induce their adoption, in due season, among his countrymen ; and we hope that while other nations are enabled to appropriate whatever is to be approved in our manners and institutions, we may avoid the sin of national vainglory, and labor to render ourselves more worthy of imitation than we are.

In pursuing his plan of investigating our economical and charitable institutions, and of making those practical researches for which, he says, "the United States may be called the classical country," Don Ramon pays an early visit to the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, in New York ; in the account of which he takes an opportunity of stating, that it was in his own country that the idea of instructing this class of our fellow beings originated.

"I had a lively desire of visiting the institutions for the Deaf and Dumb, from the moment I learned that there were such in the Union. For it was in Spain that this generous idea had birth, as well as a thousand other useful inventions which have risen up in the present age, hiding under a foreign varnish a Spanish origin, which is lost in those distant times when Europe followed in the wake of our civilization. Documents of undoubted authenticity declare, that the Benedictine Pedro Ponce instructed deaf and dumb pupils as early as the year 1570, two brothers and a sister of the constable of Castile. Not only did he teach them reading, writing, arithmetic, astronomy, the living languages, and many other things, but also to pronounce certain words. Ponce left behind him no writings concerning his method ; an omission which has been common among the men of genius of the Peninsula ; but which, whether owing to idleness or modesty, deserves the severest reproaches. Nevertheless, the two first works, which were published on this wonderful art, proceeded from the pens of two Spaniards, Juan Bonnet and Ramirez de Carrion, about the year 1620. Dr. Wallis, in 1659,

made the first attempt in England to instruct the deaf and dumb, and teach them to speak; since which the practice has always been kept up. In 1748 the Spaniard Pereyra went to Paris, presented his pupils to the Royal Academy of Sciences, and received the most flattering testimonials from the scholars of that day. After this it was that the celebrated Abbé de l'Épée, who had studied the Spanish authors, began to establish institutions of the kind in France."

Our author defends himself in a note, though unnecessarily, against the supposed imputation of national vanity, in making these statements. He is not only to be excused, but praised, for vindicating to his native Spain all her claims to honorable remembrance. He is not quite correct, however, in asserting that Ponce was the individual with whom the idea originated of instructing deaf-mutes, though to him belongs the higher praise of putting the idea into practice. We learn from other sources, that the idea was clearly proposed in the writings of Rodolphus Agricola, a full century before the time of Ponce, and that the principles of the art were set forth by the learned Jerome Cardan, of Pavia, who was born in 1501, and died in 1576. In England, also, John Bulwer must be placed before Dr. Wallis, as the former published his "*Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend*," before anything on the subject had been given to the world by the latter.

M. de la Sagra afterwards visits the Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb in Philadelphia and in Hartford, and gives us brief though interesting accounts of both. In speaking of the subject generally, he expresses his opinion, that the ideas of rhythm and the measure of time are independent of sound; and in confirmation of this he mentions the fact of there being in the United States three poets, deprived of hearing and of speech, whose compositions are distinguished by the perfection of the rhymes and faultless cadence of the verses, and tells us of a domestic of his at Havana, who, similarly destitute, danced in better time than any of his comrades.

The following is a pleasant notice of our traveller's first introduction to Sunday Schools, which was also in New York.

"Little children are always highly interesting subjects for my pencil, for I dearly love them. On a Sunday they are to be seen here in long files, proceeding two by two toward the churches. Having observed processions of this sort, just at the hours when there was no religious service, I determined to fol-

low them, and was conducted, without expecting it, to the Sunday schools, concerning which I had many notes, but I know not why, had not thought of them since my arrival.

"It was a discovery. I shall not attempt to describe the impression which was produced on me by this multitude of children, gathered in the churches to receive moral and religious instruction, and acquire the elements of learning, under the direction of young preceptors, belonging to the first families of the city. Two hours in the morning and one hour in the evening are consecrated to this exercise, and the great object is to instil into the minds of the little pupils the mild maxims of Christianity, and the principles of primary instruction. The majority of the teachers were young ladies, who taught children of both sexes with a love truly sister-like. What most astonished me was, that these children, the greater part of whom were under six years of age, went to school alone, and unconstrained, and seemed to think themselves happy in being placed under the care of their fair instructresses."

Such are the first thoughts of a truly respectable foreigner, with regard to this simple yet important institution. Sunday schools are certainly not an invention of our own, though they are perhaps more extensively adopted with us than in the mother country; but they were new to him, and the utterance of his feelings in respect to them speaks better things for his heart and character, than could have been uttered by pages of egotism and fine-spun sentiment.

From New York he goes to Philadelphia, where he is much struck by the clean and quiet magnificence of the city, incessantly washed and polished as it is by thousands of mops and brushes, and tens of thousands of pailfuls of water, and where he visits the institutions and various objects of interest, under the guidance of our venerable friend Mr. Vaughan, and other distinguished inhabitants of the place. And here it may be well to remark, that whatever may be the correctness of the Spanish original of this tour, the French translation before us makes the usual sad work with our proper names. Instead of Vaughan, for instance, we have Waugham; instead of Perkins, Parkins; instead of Hitchcock, Hitchcock; instead of Hyde, Hayde; instead of Commodore Hull, Comodore Hall. We have nevertheless good reason to be content, for more than half the names seem to be spelt right.

From Philadelphia he passes on to Baltimore, which, he says, appears to be a very pleasant abode, (*un séjour très riant*)

on account of the width of the streets, the country which you behold at their extremities, and a certain vivacity which characterizes the inhabitants. Here, as usual, he makes the best use of his moments, by inspecting whatever was most worthy of his attention, and collecting statistical facts. He then continues his journey to Washington, which seems to him, as indeed it is, a most singular seat of government. It is rather, he remarks, "a city in project than an actual capital." And yet he thinks it is well that an original people should be fitted with a capital unique in its kind, and that while the other nations of the world unite in their courts everything that is most agreeable, most splendid, most active, Washington should be the gravest, the most solitary, and most silent place in the United States. All this sounds well, and is very comforting; but the truth is, that Washington is not what it was intended to be. It was intended to be a great city; but as other localities proved to be better adapted for business and commerce, it remains, a sufficiently original place, doubtless, and yet a most unfinished, uncomfortable, and dismal one.

In Washington M. de la Sagra met with M. Michel Chevalier, and afterwards travelled in his company towards Niagara Falls. The two gentlemen were also constantly together in the capital. On one occasion they took an excursion to the Potomac Falls on horseback, in relating which, the former gives amusing proof that he has just come from riding the easy pacing animals of Cuba. "The horse which I bestrode was a splendid creature, and brought me a thousand compliments from my companions; but his trot was so hard that my limbs were dislocated. It seems that no attention is paid here to this discomfort; for I have seen Americans, both men and women, ride all kinds of horses, and not complain in the least of being half the time in the air."

Our traveller proceeds no further toward the south. He gives as one reason for this, his want of time, and as another, his repugnance to slavery, the renewed aspect of which would excite in him the most painful thoughts. Strongly as he thus expresses himself, however, he is no abolitionist. The following remarks are appended to an account of his visit to the penitentiary of the District of Columbia.

"The number of people of color, who are to be found in penitentiaries, turns my attention to the miseries of this race, plunged in vice and crime from the want of education. I have read

heaps of tracts in which we are told that liberty is the greatest boon to the slave. For my own part I think that liberty is the most fatal gift which could be bestowed on the poor African who is yet unprepared for it. I am persuaded that it would be a thousand times worse for him, than a large fortune to the foolish youth who lives in the midst of the dissipation of large cities. The slave is a machine, a being brutalized by his position, deprived of moral enjoyments, and restricted in those which are physical. All this is no doubt to be deplored, and the melioration of the negro's lot demands the attention of our philanthropists; but what benefit is to be obtained by launching the slave, child of misfortune and wretchedness, upon the face of a society which is unknown to him, and placing him in contact with all the snares which are spread for his inevitable ruin? So long as the liberty of the blacks is not made to rest on a moral and religious education, it is better not to think of it at all. But certain philanthropists will say to me, Is it just to leave them in their present abject state? But is it merciful, I shall answer, to make criminals of them? In the island of Cuba, where I have lived twelve years, in the United States, of which I have had a passing and admiring glance, I have often observed that the most demoralized and most perverse of all classes was the class of free people of color; whose vices, in fact, can only be compared with their irreligion and their stupidity. Why is not one of these the consequence of the other? Why cannot their corruption be cured by diminishing their ignorance?

"In the midst of these considerations, I perceive that a critical period is advancing for the country I have just left, which till now has been so happy. The doctrines which insist on emancipation for the blacks, resound through all Europe, and will have their echo in the national congress of Spain. Some passionate men will recognise the means of obtaining an easy popularity, in repeating what has been said by so many writers before them. Others, excited by a disinterested love of humanity, and a sincere regard for this unfortunate class, will perhaps unite their eloquent voices to the inconsiderate clamors of the former. The triumph will be certain, since it will be the triumph of the ideas of the day; but let them beware of the consequences which will result from it. A decree of emancipation, promulgated without the indispensable preliminaries of religious and intellectual education, will be but an edict of calamity, which will open under the feet of the wretched ones, whose lot it would fain mitigate, a deep abyss of crimes and miseries."

We give the above remarks, not because they altogether coincide with our own sentiments, but because they proceed

from one who is entitled to speak and be listened to, on account of his personal experience, and his known disinterestedness in relation to this subject. For our own part, we are not entirely convinced that emancipation without education would produce such terrible evils as M. de la Sagra apprehends. In Cuba especially, the whites are so numerous and so powerful, that they would be able to keep the blacks in a state of general order and subjection, even though the latter should be unduly excited by the sudden gift of liberty. Neither could the excitement last very long; the name of freedom would lose its novelty, and the poor, or in other words the people of color, would settle down naturally into the class of the hired laborers of the land. With regard to the matter of education, too, it is a question in our mind, whether it would not be quite as difficult to educate the negroes while they remained slaves, as after they had received their freedom. One thing appears in a light of much greater certainty, which is, that whatever is to be done in the way of emancipation, should be done by the well considered and deliberate act of the government, or state, whose unquestionable place and authority it is to do it; and not attempted to be done by the unwelcome interference of State with independent and jealous State, as is urged in our own country. Englishmen especially do not understand this. They seem to know nothing of the paramount and peculiar difficulty of the question of slavery in the United States. They declaim and rail away, as if it were as easy to decide upon southern emancipation in our Congress, as it was to decide on West Indian emancipation in their Parliament;—though they might remember that it was not so very easy even there. They have themselves hardly got rid of slavery in a few islands, entirely dependent on the mother country, and yet they deem themselves authorized to cry shame on us, because one part of our country does not, in some inexplicable manner, force abolition on another part, which, on this point, as on many others, is wholly independent. It is indeed somewhat strange and somewhat mournful, that in our Declaration of Independence we should declare that all men are born free and equal, and that in our national Congress we should talk vehemently about liberty and the rights of man, with swarms of slaves in our bosom. But so we began, in a full understanding of the case, and so we must go on—till either the Union is broken up, or till the slave-holding States themselves, and of their own proper motion, abolish slavery. This

is the plain matter of fact ; and no sophistry or declamation, from English or American abolitionists, can alter it in the least. Nor is it true to say that all which is wanted is to find out the means of abolishing slavery without hazard, or with the least possible hazard. If means were as clear as sunbeams, and the southern states chose not to adopt them, there is no authority in the country which could interfere with their free choice. Moral compulsion, as it is called, may be threatened ; but in our opinion it would be better not to threaten at all, and to drop the word compulsion out of the argument.

Having delivered ourselves of one or two of the many thoughts which we have on this subject, we will now return to our traveller, who pursues his pleased and pleasant way back through Philadelphia and New York, and then onward and upward, as orators say, to Niagara. He makes many instructive observations on his road, which we regret that we cannot stop to translate. He describes the Falls as one who feels their power ; and a portion of his reflections appeared to us so striking, that we cannot help inserting it here.

“I have arranged my desk in the gallery of the hotel which looks upon the cataract, so that I write under its inspiration, and almost enveloped by its morning mists. This grand picture absorbs my whole existence. Society, mankind, their machinations, their intrigues, their plans, their hopes, all appear to me small and contemptible. One should here, I think, even forget unhappiness. A vague sensation recalls to my soul a confused remembrance of my past life, of my troubles, of my aversions, of the thousand contradictions which I have suffered. On other occasions, when my memory brings back such things, my heart lifts itself up against the injustice of men, their ingratitude and their perfidy ; now, it is as a dream, and I can hardly convince myself of the reality. My spirit is calm, and the cruel recollections which before had roused me, disappear like the vapors which rise from that abyss ; my life shall flow on hereafter with the same tranquillity, I trust, as the waves of Niagara, so agitated and crushed in their fall, and, after the day of storm and turmoil, shall follow its course in peace. Wonderful cataract, I bless thee ! I owe it to thine influence that I have known the littleness of the cares which afflict us, and my enemies shall owe to thee the pardon and forgetfulness of their offences against me.”

In the spirit of this beautiful extract he seems to have continued and completed his journey. We have an intimation of

this, in what he says of the impression produced on his mind by a Sunday spent in Hartford, Connecticut; and we heartily wish that this passage might meet the eyes of some among ourselves, who are apt to speak slightly of the repose of our Sabbaths, that they may see how that repose can be estimated by a foreigner of intelligence and feeling.

“Sunday — day of diversions, of excess, of disorders in the cities of Europe — is consecrated here, as in all the United States, to meditation and prayer; but with so much simplicity, that I could not decide whether it is an effect of the distinctive character of the population of New England, or of the temper of my heart since my return from Niagara. Certain it is, that the remembrance of my Sunday at Hartford will be engraved on my mind with all the attendant circumstances of originality.”

M. de la Sagra passed from Niagara through Albany and Northampton to Boston, stopping at several places on his route, which are commemorated by his interesting notices. He arrived in Boston on the 19th of August, and remained there through the month. He visited the Athenæum, the House of Industry, House of Correction, McLean Asylum for the Insane, Institution for the Blind, and other institutions, literary, charitable, and corrective, and collected facts and figures respecting them with his usual assiduity and success. He remarks of Boston, that its aspect is very different from that of the other cities of the Union, on account of the irregularity of the streets, and the inequality of the ground on which it is built. He also says that it is the most learned of the cities, but that its intellectual culture is more advanced in the political and moral sciences, literature and the arts, than in the exact and natural sciences. These two beautiful branches of knowledge, however, he adds, are but in their infancy in this country, though they are sensibly making progress. The Society of Natural History in Boston is spoken of in a complimentary manner, and its collection, which he visited, is praised for the scientific and neat arrangement of its specimens. We trust that the day is not very far distant, when it will much better deserve the attention and praise of scientific foreigners than it now does; when the public shall be more thoroughly roused to the claims of natural science than they now are; when the Society of Natural History will be enabled, by the assistance of a liberal and enlightened community, to do that for the honor of their country which they are longing to do; and when Boston shall be as distinguished for

proficiency in science as she now is for advancement in literature. We should rejoice to see that day.

Of the Institution for the Blind in our city, of its director, Dr. Howe, and of the improvements which that gentleman has introduced in the means of instruction, our traveller speaks in terms of high and deserved commendation. He admires the skill and ingenuity with which Dr. Howe has managed to reduce the cumbrous dimensions of books for the blind, while he has at the same time preserved if not increased the distinctness of the letter; and declares that "with respect to clearness of relief and perfection of presswork, the Boston books are to be recommended as models; and the same is true of the geographical maps, the geometrical figures, and the characters of music."

He attended the Commencement exercises at the University in Cambridge, which he says, "were concluded by a Latin discourse, very elegant throughout, and excessively courteous to the ladies." Then follows his description of the Commencement dinner.

"The music, which had played in the intervals of the ceremony, accompanied us to the halls of the college, where the tables were set out for the academic repast. About five hundred persons were at the dinner, for all graduates of the college were admitted, as well as a large number of strangers, and guests from Boston. Here was furnished me a new occasion to admire the *naïveté* of American manners, and the traces of the primitive religious simplicity of the inhabitants of this country. The entertainment exhibited no more of the luxury and delicate refinement of the present age, than the ceremony which had preceded it. Under each plate was a printed paper, containing the verses of a *psalm on childhood*, which was to be sung at the close of the banquet. We sat down after a short prayer of thanks to the Supreme Being, pronounced in a loud voice by an aged clergyman. It is unnecessary to add, that the whole thing passed off without bursts of laughter, without noise, and without toasts. Finally, we sung the hymn in full chorus."

Most of our readers know, that the "*psalm on childhood*," as our friend terms it, is the good old LXXVIIIth Psalm, which has been sung on that occasion we cannot tell how long, and which we hope will be sung on the same, long after our own generation has been gathered to our sleeping fathers.

With the General Hospital in Boston M. de la Sagra is absolutely delighted. He tells his countrymen that they have no

idea of the order, neatness, and exact propriety with which such establishments are conducted, and that he can only give them an idea of the splendor and spaciousness of the buildings, by comparing them with the saloons and galleries of European palaces. In both these regards the Boston Hospital is represented as a type and model of its kind. Of this institution, of the insane hospital at Worcester, and other institutions, he offers details which are valuable not only to strangers, but for convenient reference at home.

But we must now take a reluctant leave of our author, who returns through Worcester to New York, and makes the last entry on his journal there, on the twenty-second of September. The statistics which he has collected may be relied upon, for they have been obtained from the proper sources. His remarks on our character are perhaps somewhat too kind, but they do not want discrimination, and show him to be a man of amiable, generous, and grateful dispositions, which are not so common among travellers that we need not value them when we find them. His book cannot compare, and does not seek or pretend to compare, with that of Chevalier, or that of De Tocqueville, in profoundness of moral and political investigation and remark; but for a journal of five months, it is unusually instructive and pleasing.

F. W. P. G.

ART. VII. — *The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield, M. A.* By ROBERT PHILIP, Author of the *Experimental Guides*, etc. etc. etc. New York: B. Appleton and Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 554.

WHO this Mr. Philip is, who has undertaken to paint anew, and to hold up to the world, as he would have us suppose, the only true picture of Whitefield, no opportunities of our own would have enabled us to declare. From the dedication of his work we suppose that he has a residence near London; and from the title page, we are informed that he is author of "*The Experimental Guides*," and of various other works, of which, if the present be a specimen, we shall by no means venture the perusal. For a poorer production, in the shape

of a Memoir, it has seldom been our bad fortune to read. It is enough to say of it, that even Mr. William Roberts' *Life of Hannah More* is better than this. And they who have considered these latter volumes — we refer only to the part furnished by Roberts himself — will want no lower standard of comparison.

When the injured queen of that brutal monarch, Henry the Eighth, wished no other herald to keep her honor from corruption than such a chronicler as Griffith, she unquestionably included in her notions of a biographer some decent skill of putting words together; without which, the honesty she counted indispensable, and the most charitable judgment would but imperfectly express themselves. Now of this gift our Mr. Robert Philip seems to have no conception. Many and unaccountable are the liberties he takes with his mother tongue, and not few are his sentences, that are scarcely less remarkable for awkwardness of expression than for the crude theology they convey. Yet it is said that Mr. Philip's books are popular with his own party in England, and we perceive from a glance at the bookseller's counter, that they obtain a speedy re-publication among ourselves. If it be so, the greater the pity. For it is no promising indication of the taste or correct feeling of any religious community to favor such productions as these. The utterance of a sincere and humble piety is respectable, and in the most illiterate is to be interpreted with all candor. It is delightful also to see how a true religious feeling will convey its own purity and energy to the expression of it. Touching examples of this may often be found in the devotions and the conversation of very humble Christians. It was some experience of this sort, and no small part of his reward for his frank and friendly intercourse with people of all conditions, from the monarch in his palace to the lowest Scotch peasant, that drew from Sir Walter Scott that fine sentiment, to which with all our hearts we respond; and whoever has been happy enough to have known any portion of the religious poor, will respond to it too. "I have read books enough, and observed and conversed with enough of eminent and splendidly cultivated minds, too, in my time. But I assure you, that I have heard higher sentiments from the lips of poor uneducated men and women, when exerting the spirit of severe yet gentle heroism under difficulties and afflictions, or speaking their simple thoughts as to cir-

cumstances in the lot of friends and neighbors, than I ever yet met with out of the pages of the Bible." *

But the expression of right feeling is one thing, and the making of a good book is another. Now this last is precisely that thing, which Mr. Robert Philip knows not how to do. Not that we would discourage him. He is not alone. Many there be in his good land and ours, who with no helps from colleges might instruct and even subdue us by their modest simple piety, who would but poorly succeed in committing their thoughts to the press. And when our author is meditating another like experiment, we commend it to his consideration, as well as to all who like him are prone to make books, that to this one particular business two things are essential, namely, some knowledge of one's mother tongue, and some knowledge of one's self, — what we can, and what we cannot perform. Of his own skill in these particulars our author favors us with the following specimen, in the introduction of his work.

"When Whitefield entered the University of Oxford, that seat of learning had not shaken off the moral lethargy which followed the ejection of the two thousand nonconformists. The *Bartholomew Bushel*, under which those burning and shining lights were placed, proved an extinguisher to the zeal of the luminaries that struck into the orbit of uniformity. Those of them who retained their light lost their heat. During the seventy years which had elapsed since the expulsion of the nonconformists, the Isis had been changed into a Dead sea, upon the banks of which the tree of life shrivelled into a tree of mere human knowledge; and, in the adjacent halls, the doctrines of the Reformation were superseded, in a great measure, by high church principles. Even irreligion and infidelity were so prevalent at both Universities, that when the statue of the age was chiselled by that moral Phidias, BUTLER, they seem to have furnished the model!" — p. 22.

From this brief specimen, our readers will readily assent to the remark of the author, who in his preface is pleased to observe, "In regard to the *style* of the work I have nothing to say, except that it is *my own*." And being of opinion that the time had not yet come for "the *philosophy* of Whitefield's life," he is still gratified to think that it is fast approaching; and ventures to hold out the encouragement, that his

* Lockhart's *Life of Walter Scott*.

mass of facts will then be turned to good account by himself, or by some one. In the mean time he enjoys the satisfaction of having done more for his subject, than Gillies, Middleton, Winter, and all others that had preceded him. "For Whitefield," says he, "will now be known to the public, which he was not until now." And having at last conducted his reader safely to the end of his book, instead of a more classic form of self-congratulation, "*exegi monumentum*," &c., which his humility forbade, he simply remarks, "I have now finished my portraiture of Whitefield. It is, I am aware, not *fine*. But it is faithful so far as I know."

The period at which Whitefield and Wesley first appeared was unquestionably, as our writer intended to show, a dark period in the religious history of England. From the time of the Second George, who ascended the throne while these zealous reformers were yet in the schools, till after the American Revolution, when the fruit of their labors and of others less enthusiastic than themselves was apparent, great religious indifference among the upper, great ignorance and vice among the lower classes prevailed. There was corruption enough in the state to justify the maxim of that artful minister, Sir Robert Walpole, upon which he wanted not the effrontery to act in his disposal of political patronage, "That every man had his price, and was therefore to be bought." There was deadness in the church, whose dignities and emoluments were too often bestowed upon those, who, whatever they might profess at their ordination, gave no evidence in their lives that they were "moved by the Holy Spirit to seek the priest's office." And there was a corresponding worldliness and profligacy in the people. Of all this ample evidence is seen not only in the authentic history of the time, but in the remonstrances and exhortations of the more faithful of the preachers, as Butler, Clarke, Secker, of the establishment, Grove, Watts, and others among the dissenters; and in the lighter productions of the day, as of Fielding and Smollett, who, though professedly writing fiction, are known to have drawn their characters and scenes from actual life. Especially deplorable at this time was the ignorance and debasement of the laboring classes, which if any one question, he need but recur to the life and labors of Mrs. Hannah More and her devoted sisters, of Raikes of Bristol and others besides Whitefield and Wesley, who toiled with unwearied assiduity in the cause, and were rewarded by seeing, before they died, the fruits of their efforts.

We must pass over all that relates to Whitefield's early ministrations in Wales, and the west of England, where, as we learn from better authority than Mr. Philip, there were ignorance and profligacy enough to engage for their recovery spirits less fervent than his, and confine ourselves chiefly to his labors in America. But for the sake of method, as well as for the satisfaction of our readers, as to a material passage in every young minister's life, we will just advert to his first efforts at matrimony, which were too characteristic and peculiar to be successful.

After he had been engaged in preaching about four years, his thoughts were naturally turned to this subject, and from two letters written in 1740, on his passage to Philadelphia, — we are not informed to whom, — it sufficiently appears how subordinate in his raised affections were his notions of a wife to his higher views of his ministry. He takes the occasion, while he writes as a suitor, to bless God, — we think he could hardly have expected the lady to have joined in the thanksgiving, — that if he knew anything of himself, “he was free from that foolish passion which the world calls love.” The lady, it seems, was not afraid of speaking her mind; and thinking, as she had an entire right to do, that a marriage offered in such an absolute repose of the affections “might be in some way prejudicial,” prudently waved the proposal. Whitefield married some five years afterwards a Welch widow. But the experiment, if such it might be deemed, wholly failed. One of his contemporaries tells us, “that Whitefield was not happy in his wife; that she certainly did not behave as she ought; and that her death set his mind much at rest.” The plain truth is, that his perpetual journeyings and engagements abroad, his insatiable zeal and professional ambition were incompatible with domestic enjoyment. That happened to him, which happens justly to all men, who sink their private in their public relations, and look upon their own dwelling as only a convenient resting place, that he was but coldly received at home, while he was an idol abroad; and the contrast worked, as might be expected, mischief on each side. Both Wesley and himself, whatever might have been their differences in other regards, had this at least in common, that they were indifferent husbands; and whether for the trial of faith, as their admirers thought, or in way of recompense, as we interpret the

matter, they were both afflicted with most uncompromising wives.

Whitefield made no less than seven voyages to America. He began early in his ministry to look to this country as the scene of his labors, being earnestly solicited by the Wesleys and Inghams, who had preceded him in Georgia, and who sent letters of invitation to come over and join them. At first he seems to have hesitated, and spent some of the first months succeeding his ordination, partly at Oxford, converting the prisoners at the castle, and exhorting the students of the University, and partly in those incessant labors of journeying, preaching, catechising, and visiting from house to house, in which his strength and life were ever after employed. Nothing is more wonderful in his whole history than his indefatigable labor. How it was possible for one of no uncommon physical strength, in sicknesses not infrequent, sometimes going from his bed to the pulpit, or to the field, to preach daily, at early morning, at noon, and at evening, and once it is recorded of him seven times in one day, and still to be distinctly heard not by hundreds only, but by thousands and thousands in the open air, — and this too, as not seldom happened to him, amidst noise and insult, — may well provoke our curiosity. It is an interesting fact in the history of eloquence, sacred and profane, that with singular intellectual gifts of any sort will be usually found united corresponding physical gifts of voice and manner to give them efficacy. It would be in vain to deny to Whitefield the praise of a remarkable natural eloquence. Meagre and poor as are his published writings, leaving us utterly at a loss as to the secret of his power, the power itself cannot be questioned. His most prejudiced hearers, like Lord Chesterfield and others, who went arming themselves against him, returned confessing their defeat. He compelled them, for the time at least, to enter into his views, and even to comply with his requests. All his biographers concur in their accounts of his charity sermons, “when the most worldly-minded were made to part with their money in so generous a manner, that when they returned to their former temper, they were ready to think it had been conjured from them by some inexplicable charm.” Nor was this wholly inexplicable. The charm was in his gift of utterance; his strong and natural expression; his earnest countenance, notwithstanding his squinting eye, and perhaps more than all in a field preacher, his penetrating and

musical voice, of which self-possession and courage gave him an absolute command, so that none of his words fell to the ground, or failed of the effect he intended.

In the consciousness of physical gifts like these, combined with a fruitful imagination and a fervent zeal, Whitefield felt himself called to missionary labor in America. Of the sincerity of his zeal we have no inclination to doubt. That he was animated by a sincere love of souls in entering upon such a course, Christian charity forbids us to deny. That this zeal, however, had its usual helps from other than religious considerations, so that Whitefield amidst all his labors found part of his reward in the fame and other gratifications that the world can bestow, we also believe. Nor is this any serious deduction from his merits. In this imperfect world, the best of men are prompted to their best actions by a variety of motives, and to our view it is but another of the countless proofs of the kindness of our Heavenly Father, the great moral Governor, that rejoicing as he does in the virtue of his children, he is pleased to encourage them by so many helps to goodness; and that, knowing their weakness of faith in the higher rewards of the world that shall be, he does not leave them without some satisfactions even in the life that *is*.

Under the influence then, as we shall take it for granted, of various motives, partly religious and partly personal, Whitefield came for the first time to America in 1738. He had then received only deacon's orders in the church of England, and was twenty-three years of age. He arrived at the Parsonage-house in Savannah, which Wesley had occupied, nearly four months after his embarking from London. This tedious passage, so singularly contrasted with the passages of half as many weeks at the present time, might have prevailed with others of a less determined resolution to damp their zeal. But wherever Whitefield was, by land or by sea, he never forgot his vocation. He wrote letters, composed sermons, as well as preached them, and if his own account is to be taken without limitation, he must have been favored with an unusually docile and congenial set of fellow-passengers, whose subjects of conversation were certainly of a more theological stamp than we have supposed usual in the cabins of our passage-ships. He had succeeded well in infusing his own love of religious discussion; for thus he writes in his journal: "Blessed be God, we now live very comfortably in the great

cabin. We talk of little else than God and Christ, and scarce a word is heard among us when together, but what has reference to our fall in the first, and our new birth in the second Adam."

The object, that first engaged the attention of Whitefield on his arrival in America, was the establishment of the Orphan House in Georgia. This benevolent project, which afterwards for more than thirty years occupied so large a place in his thoughts and labors, and was the fruitful source to him at once of great satisfaction and of great reproach, was not entirely his own suggestion. It was first proposed to him, as he ingenuously acknowledges in the detailed history he was compelled in self-defence to give of the Institution, by his friend, Mr. Charles Wesley, "who," says he, "had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design, before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself." But whatever may be said of the first suggestion, the merit of the actual foundation and commencement of the charity belongs to Whitefield, who by his preaching and personal influence procured large funds for its establishment, devised the plan, superintended, as far as his frequent absences in his own country would permit, its operation, engaged individuals and the government both of Georgia and of England in its behalf, and was the moving spirit, the life and strength of the whole institution. Its object seemed to be wise, as it certainly was benevolent. It appeared that of the adventurers, who early came to Georgia, great numbers became victims of the hardships, to which they were exposed in a new settlement and an unfriendly climate. Consequently many poor fatherless children were found in Georgia, and it was to provide for the support and education of such that the Orphan House was erected.

This charitable purpose was so successfully pursued, that from the time of its foundation in 1739 to Whitefield's death in 1770, besides other poor, who were included in its charity, one hundred and forty boys and forty-three girls had been rescued from exposure and want, clothed, educated, and afterwards suitably provided for. The original design of this charity, embracing both sexes, seems to have been the same with that of our own Farm School, and Boston Asylum for Indigent Girls. It was a cherished child of Whitefield, who devoted himself to its interests with his characteristic fervor, and judging from its success and the patronage it conciliated, with prudence and

ability. Of his entire disinterestedness in the matter, and even of his integrity there were not wanting from the beginning some who doubted. The large contributions he collected both in Great Britain and America were the occasion of suspicion. Nor can we wonder under all the circumstances of the case, — the institution itself at a distance, its very existence and history resting on the word of an individual, while most of its patrons were in another hemisphere, — that distrust should have arisen. "There are some," says its founder, "who affirm that there is no such thing. But how it should enter into the heart of any to say so, I should not have conceived, unless the Scripture had said, 'the heart of man is desperately wicked.' And as for other aspersions cast upon me, as though I collected money to enrich myself, it gives me little or no concern. For God knows the heart, and at the day of judgment I will prove those persons liars."

But Whitefield should have remembered that the day of judgment was not immediately at hand, and that in the mean time his character, and with it his cause, might suffer. He should have remembered also, that patrons to a charity, though they cannot read the heart, have a right and are fully competent to examine accounts. Had he only done from the beginning what every wise man in the receipt of public moneys, above all of public charities, will never fail to do, he would have avoided much trouble and reproach. It is very possible indeed, though this does not appear, that he might from time to time have made satisfactory returns to his personal friends. But both his duty and his interest plainly demanded another course. At length, in 1745, he published in self-defence a detailed history of the institution. And no one, we think, who shall read that narrative, with all the accounts and vouchers annexed, with the testimonies official and private to the faithfulness and integrity of the founder, the honorable mention made of him in some of the acts of the Legislature of Georgia, conveying grants of money and land in aid of his project, and all committed to his discretion by men who, as residents in Georgia, were not strangers to him or to his methods of conducting, but will be satisfied that throughout the whole concern Whitefield preserved his integrity. We have perused with some care these documents; and should charge ourselves with a want of the charity that thinketh

no evil, if we did not verily believe that "his hands were clean." *

After the Orphan House had flourished as a charity only for more than twenty years, Whitefield with some of its patrons in Savannah were desirous to extend the original plan, and petitioned the king for a charter like that of the college in New Jersey, with a Theological Seminary annexed. In aid of this proposal the Legislature of Georgia had already granted two thousand acres of land, and in terms highly honorable to Whitefield, recommended his petition to the royal favor. But it was not granted, partly from the opposition of the English Bishops, jealous of a seminary that should be open alike to the children of Churchmen and Dissenters. A correspondence took place between Whitefield and Dr. Secker, afterwards the antagonist of Mayhew, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, who in the name of the church insisted upon subscription to the articles, and other parts of the exclusive system, prevailing in Oxford and Cambridge. But Whitefield, who had collected the funds from Christians of all denominations, and more than any other from Dissenters in both countries, and moreover had pledged his word, that the college should be placed upon a liberal basis, was too faithful to his word, and too catholic in his own principles, to submit to such an intolerance. After some patient waiting and remonstrance, he withdrew his petition, only requesting leave from the Archbishop to

* The following is a copy of one of the certificates, published with Mr. Whitefield's Narrative.

"Savannah in Georgia.

"This day personally appeared before us, Henry Parker and William Spencer, bailiffs, &c., with William Woodrooffe, &c. &c., who being duly sworn, say, that they have carefully examined all the accounts relating to the Orphan House in Georgia, with the original bills, receipts, and other vouchers, from Dec. 15, 1738 to the first of January, 1745; and that the moneys received amount to the sum of £4982-12-8 sterling; and that it does not appear, that the Rev. Mr. Whitefield hath converted any part thereof to his own private use and property, or charged the said house with his travelling or any other private expenses, but on the contrary hath contributed to the said house many valuable benefactions: That the moneys disbursed on account of said house amounted to £5511-17-9½ sterling, which we, in justice to Rev. Mr. Whitefield, do hereby declare, appear to us to be faithfully and justly applied to the use and benefit of said house alone.

"Signed this 16th day of April, 1746."

print the correspondence ; and the original Orphan House, left to its own resources, and wanting after his death one for its head of like energy with his own, gradually decayed and perished. What became of its funds, whether absorbed in the annual expenditures, or otherwise diverted, does not appear in any memoirs we remember of its founder.

We now turn to a part of Mr. Whitefield's history, not to be overlooked in any view of his character, because in truth identified with his name and glory, but to us, we acknowledge, far less satisfactory than what we have already seen of his charitable labors in Georgia, — we mean his preaching and whole missionary career in New England. And we set out with a full admission of all that there was extraordinary in the gifts of this singular person. That he was endued with an eloquence capable of producing wonderful effects, and with a voice so sweet, and a command of it so perfect, that with the mere utterance of the word "*Mesopotamia*" he could make his hearers weep, has been already admitted. That it was the effect of his preaching, sometimes transient, sometimes permanent, to awaken the conscience, to soften the obdurate heart, to convert indifference and worldliness, profligacy, and infidelity itself to a sense of religion, and fearful waiting for of judgment, is also true. Though he was not seldom a son of thunder, and the word in him as a fire, and as a hammer that breaks the rock in pieces, there was sometimes a melting tenderness, which seldom failed to subdue.

But that with all his eloquence and all its effect there were grave faults, we have now to show. With his speculations or creed we have at present no concern. But for once supposing them true, even to the extent in which his zeal sometimes carried them, we still see so much of art and extravagance, of dogmatism and effrontery in this celebrated itinerant, as most seriously to impair our confidence, while it leaves us only to more astonishment at the undeniable effect of his ministrations.

And of these qualities we mention first his effrontery, which in his youth and for the earlier periods of his ministry was absolutely boundless. In no place, and at no period, was this quality so conspicuously exhibited, as in his first visit to Boston, to Cambridge, and some other parts of New England.

Mr. Whitefield's first appearance in Boston was in August 1740, about four years after he had begun to preach, and when

he had not yet completed the twenty-sixth year of his age. At that period Boston was favored with the ministry of Drs. Colman and Cooper of Brattle Street Church ; of Foxcroft and Chauncy in the first Church ; of Prince and Sewall in the Old South Church, of Webb, and within two or three years after, of Andrew Eliot in the New North, besides others within the city and its neighborhood ; than whom few either of their cotemporaries or successors, up to the present day, have been more eminent for theological learning, for pastoral fidelity, or unimpeachable piety and good morals. Of these, some, as Colman, and Foxcroft, and Sewall had attained, the first to venerable, the others to advanced years, and the ministries of some of them had already exceeded the whole life of Mr. Whitefield. At Cambridge, in the college, was President Holyoke, Dr. Wigglesworth senior, the first professor of Divinity, Dr. Winthrop, in the Mathematical department ; and for the pastor of the Church was Dr. Nathaniel Appleton, even then distinguished for the piety, integrity, and simplicity of manners, even to Puritanism, which marked his character for almost half a century afterwards. In other parts of the commonwealth were at the same period, Dr. Gay of Hingham, Balch of Bradford, Barnard of Newbury, and afterwards of Salem, with many others of like gifts and virtues, whose praise is still in the churches.

Such were the persons, who at that day presided in the college and filled the churches of New England, and when this youthful Whitefield appeared among them, there is no evidence that they had lost in any measure the character given of their body a few years before by Dr. Cotton Mather, in replying to the slanders of yet another accuser of his brethren, and which is thus quoted by Dr. Chauncy in his "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion." *

"There is not that spot of ground upon the face of God's earth, which can proportionably match New England for ministers, that not only have and use all true piety, but are exemplary for it. Let this wicked Shimei find so much as one ungodly man allowed as a minister in any of our churches. Neighbors, you are blest with ministers who excel in piety ; you have reason to be thankful for such holy, humble, able, painful, and prayerful ministers, as God has generally blest these

churches withal. And I exhort you, as you would approve yourselves worthy to wear the name that was begun at Antioch, that you do not forget that command of our Lord, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls.' "

This witness is true. The clergy of New England, from the time of its settlement at Plymouth to the period in question, were, as a body, distinguished not only for their learning and moral worth, but for their devotion to the appropriate duties of their calling; living among their people, spending and being spent in their service. The vices, which prevailed among the clergy of the establishment in the parent country, and which then beyond any other period might have justified Whitefield's stern rebuke, such as non-residence, pluralities and consequent desertion of the flock, infrequent preaching, and the preaching of stolen sermons; indolence, luxury, ambition, sycophantic attendance on the court, watching for promotion at the gates of Prime Ministers, instead of watching for souls, — to say nothing of fox-hunting, and other yet less clerical pursuits, — neither these nor anything approaching to them were known or even imagined in America. From the very nature of the civil government, of the ecclesiastical, that is, congregational discipline, and the whole condition of society, these vices were impossible. Their only offence, in the sight of Whitefield and of other fanatical persons who joined themselves to him, was, that the most learned among them, as Colman, Chauncy, Gay, adopted the Arminian rather than the Calvinistic faith, asserted the right of private judgment, and regarded the Scriptures as the sufficient standard of belief and practice. And yet scarcely had this young gentleman set foot upon the American strand, than, like many other inexperienced travellers from England in latter times and of other callings, he began to pass sentence upon the churches. "He seldom preached," says Dr. Chauncy, "but he had something or other in his sermon against unconverted ministers. And what he delivered, especially at some certain times, had an evident tendency to fill the minds of people with evil surmisings against the ministers, as though they were for the most part carnal, unregenerate wretches. He often spoke of them in the lump, as Pharisees, enemies of Christ Jesus, and the worst enemies he had. And as though he had not done enough by preaching to beget in people an ill opinion of the

ministers, he expresses his fear, in his journal in New England, lest many, nay, the most that preach, do not experimentally know Christ."

Now let any impartial reader consider this case. Here is a young man, no matter of what church or by what name he is called, with not more than twenty-five years *over* his head, and but a scanty stock of learning *in* it, coming, an entire stranger from a distant land, with no time for personal knowledge, and deriving all his impressions from prejudiced report, venturing at once to assail from the pulpit, in their own churches, and in the hearing of their own flocks, men of twice his years, of more than twice his wisdom, who for years had approved themselves faithful ministers, when as yet Whitefield had not breathed the breath of life. We are aware of the devices by which the fervors and even the arrogance of a sectarian zeal are by some exalted into virtues. But for ourselves we can regard the conduct of Whitefield in this matter only as a strange effrontery, utterly irreconcilable not only with the modesty of youth, for which no zeal for God or love of souls, as we interpret it, can be allowed as a substitute, but with any deep or true religious feeling. But against the churches and the college, which received its full share of the abuse, he was guilty — and we are not studious to leave doubtful our meaning — of astonishing presumption and impertinence, uttering against them what he knew not, condemning where he had no right, because he had no means to judge, and denouncing men, older, wiser, better than himself, whom the community of which they were a part had chosen to honor, and against whose lives and conversation through a whole generation not a whisper had been heard.

Happily for this bold accuser, his grosser offences against charity were for the most part the sins of his youth. We are glad to record that he afterwards saw reason to regret his extravagances, and in his subsequent visits to New England learned to utter his judgments with a more becoming modesty. "In my zeal," said he shortly after his return to England, "during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant though injudicious letters, and had said against Archbishop Tillotson, that he knew no more of religion than Mahomet," &c.; "and I think I had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation, which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed. The world was angry at me for the former, and numbers of my own spiritual children for the latter." It was

his strenuous and unqualified adherence to the Calvinistic doctrines of election and irreversible decrees, of the perseverance of those who are in Christ, and of final reprobation of the wicked, that not long after the date of these confessions occasioned his separation from Wesley, one of the most memorable passages of his history, in which the distinctive features in the characters of these two celebrated reformers are displayed, and of which Mr. Southey, in his life of the latter, has given with his usual discrimination a full and highly interesting account.

But our concern is chiefly with Whitefield in America; and before passing to other topics, we may just inquire for our readers, Was there not after all something in the state of Harvard College, and something too in the state of the churches, respectable and learned as might have been the teachers and the ministers, that furnished some apology, if not justification, for the reproaches of Whitefield, and which being urged, not as was done by this zealous itinerant, in sectarian bitterness, but in friendship and sincerity, should have been listened to, and produced reform? We answer, it may have been so. Colleges and churches are of course subject to the faults and decay common to all things human; and there is an undeniable tendency in all institutions, academic or religious, to lose somewhat of the zeal and carefulness in which their foundations were laid. The sin charged upon the churches was departure from the orthodox or Calvinistic faith, which, whether it be counted for evil or good, for congratulation or regret, must of course depend on each one's private judgment. In relation to Harvard College, there seems to have been no ground whatever for the reproaches so freely and audaciously cast upon it by Whitefield. At few periods of its history have there been wiser or more faithful men engaged in its instruction and discipline than at the very period in question. And it may well be taken as a convincing proof of the ascendancy obtained by this youthful calumniator, that such men as Holyoke, the President of the College, whom few in his station have exceeded in dignity and the power of commanding respect, and Wigglesworth, who held this Theological chair with great reputation for more than forty-two years, and whose abilities were favorably displayed in his share of this very transaction, and Professor Winthrop, whose literary distinctions were united to great weight of character and rank in political life, — that such men as these should have thought it necessary to stand forth on the occasion as defenders

of the college. It is evident, that they did not think the calumny, youthful as was the author, and a stripling in all respects in comparison with themselves, beneath their notice. "They published," says Mr. Peirce in his faithful history of the University, "a Pamphlet entitled 'The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors, and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield and his Conduct,'" which was signed by all the resident instructors, with the name of the President at their head, and in which they declared Mr. Whitefield to be "an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person, and a deluder of the people," and condemned him "both as an *extempore* and as an itinerant preacher;" adducing at the same time some special instances of his arrogance and censoriousness, and concluding with an earnest recommendation to "the Pastors of these churches of Christ to advise with one another, and consider whether it be not time to make a stand against the mischiefs," &c. &c.

It was not till after the publication of his Journal in England, containing the injurious aspersions on our colleges and churches, (for it is to be observed that Yale College was equally involved in his calumnies,) and upon his second visit to this country in 1744, that Whitefield found himself under the necessity of a defence. He replied to the "Testimony," but in a manner very unsatisfactory, and in some points insolent. He pretended, as many other censorious bigots have done since, either not understanding or not choosing to consider the meaning of their words, that "in asserting that the Universities were in a state of Egyptian darkness, he *meant nothing but what was very harmless!* that he had no idea of representing the College in such a deplorable state of immorality and irreligion as was supposed. However, I am sorry," he adds, "I published my private information, though from credible persons;" and after some general expressions of good will to Harvard College, and a "*magnanimous* offer of his own forgiveness for the injury they had done him! — he requests their forgiveness if he on his own part have done them wrong."*

Such an apology, it must be granted, was but an inadequate atonement for so serious an offence. President Holyoke, who, in his Convention Sermon in 1741, had expressed himself

* See Peirce's History of Harvard University, Chap. 22.

charitably towards Whitefield while he refuted his aspersions,* was compelled to retract his favorable judgment; and being charged by Whitefield with some inconsistency, he writes: "Alas! how was I deluded by show and appearance! and not only I, but multitudes besides me, who no doubt would be as ready as I am now, had they a proper occasion for it, to say they have been sorrowfully deceived; and that whatever good was done, hath been prodigiously overbalanced by the evil; and the furious zeal, with which you so fired the passions of the people, hath in many places burnt up the very vitals of religion; and a censorious, uncharitable disposition hath in multitudes usurped the place of godly jealousy."

The letter written by Dr. Wigglesworth was yet more decisive. Both for ability and judgment it fully deserves the encomium passed upon it by Mr. Peirce as an "admirable production." Its length must preclude our transferring it to these pages, but our readers may find all that relates to the college in the Appendix to the "History"; and we close our notice of this part of Whitefield's career, with the following paragraph of the Professor's letter.

"And now, Sir, for myself I can with great sincerity assure you, that it hath been no small grief of heart to me, to deal with you in this public manner. But as these things have all been made public by your own writings, which are read, I suppose, in all parts of the British dominions in Europe and America; and, as I apprehend, you have been permitted to fall into repeated, deliberate, most public, and pernicious violations of the holy laws of God, I cannot persuade myself that any good could come of private conferences; but think that you ought to give satisfaction in as public a manner as you have given offence; which I earnestly pray God to incline your heart to do."

Whitefield's growing experience and years had, we believe, their usual effect in improving his judgment and enlarging his charity. For to adopt here the good words of Baxter,

* "I am glad," says the President, "that from my own experience of things I can assure this venerable audience this day, that that Seminary hath not deserved the aspersions which have of late been made upon it, either as to the Principles there prevalent or the books there read." — "Nor has that Society been in so happy a state as to these things, from the time that I was first acquainted with the Principles there (some thirty-five years ago) as it is at this day."

often quoted in such connexions, "As fruit grows mellow in ripening for the taste, so age grows kinder in ripening for heaven." He was soon after called to some still severer trials of his charity in his controversy to which we have alluded, and final separation from Wesley; and in the opposition he excited within the bosom of his own church, from whose Bishops he had received ordination, and of which, notwithstanding his irregularity and violations of its canons by extempore preaching, field preaching, and fellowship with Dissenters, he still claimed to be a minister.

Our purpose does not require us to pursue further the history of Mr. Whitefield, and we have no desire to follow Mr. Philip either in his affectations or rambling digressions. Most of our readers probably know, that Whitefield's ministry was divided between his native country and ours; that within the thirty-four years spent most industriously in missionary labors he crossed the Atlantic not less than thirteen times, chiefly in the cause of his Orphan House in Georgia, and of the chapels he established in England. As the chaplain of the Lady Huntingdon, a weak but we believe sincerely pious woman,—whose rank and fortune were united to a most charitable temper, and a strangely confused theology,—he obtained the acquaintance of several of like station with herself, who were attracted by his eloquence, and some of whom were converted to his doctrine. Often feeble, and assailed by violent disease threatening speedy dissolution, he was in perpetual journeyings, to which neither his wife nor his home seemed to have been regarded as the slightest obstacles. All his taste and habits were itinerant, and, it must be confessed, they were necessary to one, whose field was the world, and who was conscious of gifts, for which not a single church but all christendom was the appropriate theatre.

Neither will it be doubted, that to one constituted as was this ardent missionary, with whom habits of study were almost unknown, the mode of life he pursued had its conveniences and exemptions as well as toils. It exempted him from painful study, and the writing of many sermons. It appears from his diary, that he preached very frequently in the course of one journey from the same text; and even in discourses professedly on different topics, his most remarkable sayings were perpetually repeated. His chief labor was in his delivery. To this, in which with the magic of his voice lay his power, he gave the most careful attention, "leaving nothing to accident," says his

biographer, "that he could regulate with care. Hence practised preachers and shrewd observers could tell at once whenever he delivered a sermon for the first time. Foote and Garrick, who sometimes were drawn to Tottenham Court Chapel or Moors-field from curiosity, maintained that his oratory was never perfect until he had repeated a discourse *forty* times," — after which, having made himself perfect, he may have repeated it forty times more. Dr. Franklin, who was once upon a charity occasion so far subdued as to empty his pockets, when he had previously resolved to give nothing, says, "By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed and those he had preached often in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, was so perfectly tuned, that without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse, — a pleasure much of the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music."* By the repetition of his discourses, we understand the repetition only of the leading thoughts, the illustration or enlargement being left to the hour. For Whitefield had neither time nor skill for the full writing out of discourses. Probably not one in a hundred that was preached was regularly composed; and the few that were published give ample evidence that it was the skilful utterance and not weight of thought that gave them power.

He was capable of attitudes and gestures, the very thought of which in another would have argued madness, and the least failure would have been an unmixed absurdity. That Whitefield even attempted them proves the consciousness of his power, but it equally proves the wretchedness of his taste. He would smite with his hands, stamp with his feet, beseech with tears, and lift up his voice like a trumpet, as if to fulfil the commands given to Ezekiel and the ancient prophets. "I have known him," says Winter, "avail himself of the formality of the judge, put-

* Dr. Jonathan Mayhew was not equally delighted with what he heard of Whitefield's preaching. On one occasion he says, that it was as poor, and meagre, and contemptible a performance as he had ever attended; and wondered how people could be captivated with it. Perhaps we must make some allowance for the prejudices of Dr. Mayhew. But Whitefield, like other preachers, whose success depends on frames of mind, and tone of spirits, and external circumstance, must have been very unequal.

ting on his black cap, to pronounce sentence. With his eyes full of tears, and heart almost too big to admit of speech, he would say after a momentary pause, 'I am now going to put on my condemning cap. Sinner, I must do it. I must pronounce sentence.' Then, in a strain of tremendous eloquence, he would repeat our Lord's words, 'Depart, ye cursed!' and not without a very powerful description of the nature of that curse."

It is said, however, "that Whitefield was always *solemn*, and suffered nothing to seem at variance with his deep solemnity. There was no levity," says Winter, "in his lively sallies, and no departure from the spirit of his mission, even when he used 'market language.' He made everything tend to a solemn effect; and even when he created a momentary smile, the most dissipated and thoughtless still found their attention fixed." This we confess is at some variance with our impressions, but it is the testimony of an eye-witness, and, if true, will be admitted as some extenuation for improprieties, which it is difficult to distinguish from levity or irreverence.

Our readers, we suppose, need not be informed that Whitefield died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Parsons, on the morning of Sunday, September 30, 1770, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his ministry. He had travelled from Portsmouth but the day before, preaching on his way, and was engaged to preach on the morrow in the pulpit of Mr. Parsons, before which at his desire his body lies buried. His tomb is still constantly visited by strangers, as they pass through that beautiful town, and for a long period, till within we believe a very few years, the body remained in a remarkable state of preservation, owing, it is said, "to the vast quantities of nitre, with which the earth abounds in that vicinity."

There have not been wanting absurd conjectures as to this matter among the admirers of Whitefield, which might have been spared, had they not overlooked the fact, that other bodies of less distinguished personages have been from the same physical causes equally well preserved. The following curious incident, of a different kind, for which no miraculous hypothesis is necessary, we quote in Mr. Philip's own words.

"It will surprise and grieve not a few on both sides of the Atlantic, when I tell them that the bones of Whitefield are not entire. Part of his *right arm* was sent to this country. I hope

it is not here still. If I thought it were not returned, I should feel inclined to tell the American ambassador where to find it, and to urge him to demand it in the name of his country.

"About two years ago, a visitor in London invited me to see 'a curiosity, sure to gratify me.' He mistook my taste. I went, and he placed on the table a long narrow box, defying me to guess its contents. I had no need to guess or hesitate. I said, 'It contains the *right arm* of George Whitefield, and I could name both the thief and the receiver.'" — p. 519.

In conclusion; if the great Apostle of the Gentiles besought by "the gentleness of Christ," and even when he uttered the terrors of the Lord it was to persuade men, it cannot be meet in teachers of far inferior endowments to forget, or seem to forget, that they are men of like passions with others, and subject to like condemnation. With this feeling, — and who will deny that it is the right one, — all extravagant gesticulation and tricks of oratory, especially such theatrical artifices as putting on a judgment-cap, and affecting to call back Gabriel from his passage to heaven, much as they have been admired, seem to us only as strange impertinences and incongruities, of temporary at best and doubtful effect, intolerable or ridiculous in the repetition, and much at variance with the humility and reverent caution becoming one who is sincerely seeking to win souls. On the other hand, we can easily comprehend the effect, which has been ascribed to the truly Christian labors of Mrs. Frey for the poor prisoners in Newgate, who coming to them with the gentleness and the pity, that belonged to her character as well as to her sect, said, "Perhaps you might like to hear a word of the consolation that is in Christ; for I suppose that they who sin have many sorrows." And still more do we discern of a divine power in the teachings of Him, whose consolations she offered; and who, in assigning what was indeed an adequate reason for the unbelief and cruelty of his countrymen, said: "These things will they do, because they have not known the Father nor me."

F. P.

ART. VIII. — *Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities.* By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the University of Cambridge. Vol. I. *The Last four Books of the Pentateuch.* Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 511.

“WHAT shall we do with the Old Testament?” is a question of such frequent recurrence among laymen as well as clergymen, that any serious and well considered attempt to answer it, or to supply the means of answering it, is almost sure of a hearty welcome. The anxiety and earnestness, with which this inquiry is sometimes pressed, originate, for the most part, in a presumption hastily taken up, and more or less vaguely entertained, that to believe in the New Testament we must also believe in all that the Old Testament contains, however apparently inconsistent some passages of the latter may be with the spirit of the former, with the discoveries of science, or with just notions of God and duty. Such being the difficulty it is obviously necessary in order effectually to remove it, that one of two things should be done. Either it must be shown that none of the objections urged against particular passages of the Old Testament can be sustained; that is to say, we must be convinced that these passages contain nothing irreconcilable with the Christian spirit, the discoveries of science, or just notions of God or duty; or else it must be shown, that their admitted indefensibleness in these respects has nothing to do with our belief in the truth and divine origin of Christianity.

Dr. Palfrey, in the volume before us, and most other writers on the subject, have been led very naturally, by their method of treating it, to see what can be done with a view to the first mentioned alternative. They have given us what may not inaptly be termed Apologies for the Jewish Scriptures; in which the obnoxious passages are taken up one after another, and carefully examined in their grammatical construction, and in the light of history and a higher criticism, an attempt being made to show in this way, and generally with entire success, that the popular objections to the Old Testament are founded in popular ignorance or mistake. But there is a general and preliminary inquiry on which it may not be amiss to say a few

words in this place, as it will prepare the reader to enter on the discussion of the details in a freer spirit, and with a better understanding of the bearing of the whole on the great questions of natural and revealed religion. Suppose the defence of the Old Testament to fail in some points, — suppose the Jewish Scriptures to contain a few statements which, after all that has been said, still remain in any view we can take of them, essentially incredible, — suppose that single passages occur here and there, which, in any rational account of the matter, we find it as impossible, in any proper sense of the words, to refer to a divine or a supernatural origin, as we should corresponding passages from the Zend-Avesta, the Vedas, or the Koran, — suppose all this, and in such an event, we ask, what precisely would be the nature of the difficulty presented, and to what would it amount considered as an argument against revelation generally, and the Christian revelation in particular?

We say then, in the first place, that the difficulty, supposing it really to exist, does not press primarily at least on the Jewish dispensation, in itself considered, but only on the *records* of this dispensation.

The distinction here adverted to between a divine dispensation, and its records, is so obvious and palpable to a mind void of prejudice, and is now so generally recognised by scholars and theologians, that for them not a word of explanation is necessary; but for general readers it is otherwise. You complain of difficulties in the Old Testament; but difficulties in what? Not certainly in the general idea of a divine and supernatural dispensation considered as a preparation for Christianity. Some, we know, may persist in asking why it is, if God interposed so frequently in the early ages of the world, that he never, occasionally at least, interposes now? But this question is best answered, perhaps, simply by asking another. Why is it that a wise and affectionate parent interposes so frequently in the education of his family, while they are young; but afterwards, when they are grown up, leaves them to their own guidance? Now the world is God's family; "as certain also of your own poets have said, 'For we are also his offspring.'" It stands to reason, therefore, that the race in its infancy, before the arts and sciences were introduced, or the human mind had been sufficiently matured for the reception of a purely spiritual faith and worship, or the action of moral truth alone, should have re-

quired peculiar aids ; and if so, it also stands to reason, that under a truly paternal providence these aids should have been afforded ; and furthermore that, as soon as the race was from any cause in a condition to dispense with them, they should be withdrawn. The simplest and most natural way of regarding God's successive supernatural dispensations is, to look upon them as being so many divine interpositions, or if the expression is preferable, so many variations in the divine procedure, adapted to the successive stages of human progress, with a view to the promotion and acceleration of this progress from age to age. Now we say, that if the Old Testament, in a general view of its contents, will help us, as it does, to trace the gradual development of such a plan from the beginning, it will not make it more difficult, but much less difficult, so far as antecedent probabilities or improbabilities go, to believe in Christianity, considered as a divine and supernatural dispensation in which this plan is carried out and consummated.

There is nothing, then, in the idea of the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, considered as divine and supernatural, and at the same time as preparatory, and consequently imperfect in themselves, which should occasion difficulty to a pious mind, or to an enlightened believer in Christianity. The difficulty, if any really exists, is to be found in the books to which we look for an account of these dispensations. And here again the difficulty does not grow, at least in the first instance, out of any objection to these books, considered as a whole. It grows out of an objection to certain parts of the collection ; which objection is thought by way of inference to affect the credit of the whole, and thus to invalidate the evidence of the divine origin of Judaism, and consequently of Christianity as founded upon Judaism.

Now we ask, — admitting, for the sake of the argument, the specific objection here stated as existing against particular parts of the collection to be well founded, — are all or any of the inferences just mentioned fairly deducible from it? If so, it would seem to be on the principle, that we must believe the whole or none ; or at least, that if we demur at certain details, we must, in order to be consistent, deny or doubt the leading facts. This, however, is a principle, which nobody would think of applying to books in general. Nobody would say, for example, of any one history, or any collection of histories of the Protestant Reformation, or of the American Revolution,

“You must believe the whole or none. If you have doubts about a single statement, it ought to shake your confidence in the entire narrative; you ought to begin to doubt whether there ever was such an event as the Protestant Reformation, or the American Revolution.” It follows, then, that if this principle is nevertheless fairly applicable to the Jewish Scriptures, it must be from some peculiarity in the nature of the books themselves, or in the character or pretensions of the writers, or in the subject-matter, or in the manner in which the whole is appealed to or assumed in the New Testament.

And first of the books themselves, considered apart from any questions growing out of their contents, their authorship, or what is said of them in the New Testament, and regarded solely in the light of what may be termed their external history. What are these books? They compose the entire library of the ancient Hebrews, so far as it has come down to us, — every scrap and shred of their literature, good, bad, or indifferent, in prose or verse, which time has spared. Much, we are aware, has been said about a Temple Library before and after the captivity, and of a collection of books held peculiarly sacred by the Jews ever since the time of Ezra, or of the great Synagogue, in the third century before Christ, when and by whom this collection, we are sometimes told, was closed. But in reply to this it is enough to say that both these statements are mere conjectures or assumptions of a much later age, and rest on no historical evidence whatsoever. Externally, or if we may be allowed the expression bibliographically, all that we can be said to know of these books is, that they comprise the entire literature of an ancient tongue, — every work extant which was written by a whole people so long as they spoke that tongue, — be it law or prophecy, history or philosophy, hymn, song, or aphorism. Now we object not to the idea of sacredness which Jews and Christians, for good and substantial reasons, attach to this collection; neither do we raise any question respecting the authenticity, genuineness, or general credibility of the several books. On the contrary, we assume all this, and take it for granted that, as faithful records of Judaism, they inform us of everything which it is necessary or important for us to know, as believers in its divine and supernatural origin, and that to this extent they are worthy of entire confidence. But when it is said or implied, that we must believe the whole or none, or, which amounts to the same

thing, that a single manifest error, mistake or discrepancy, however unimportant, occurring in any part of these writings, nullifies their testimony for the leading facts, the extravagance of the principle, bad enough in its application to a single work, only strikes us as the more glaring when applied, as in this case, to the multifarious remains of the whole literature of a whole people for more than a thousand years.

But some may allege, the writers or compilers of the Old Testament claim, either expressly or by implication, to be *inspired*; and perhaps it is for this reason that we must believe the whole or none. Is it true however, in the first place, that *all* the writers of the Old Testament do set up this claim, so far, we here mean, as it can be gathered from the language, the subject, or the general tenor of what they have themselves written? That *some* do, we readily concede. Moses and the prophets, for example, were often understood to act under divine influence, and to speak from divine impulse and illumination, and meant to be so understood, and claimed to be obeyed and confided in on this account. But looking at the books themselves, or at anything which can be gathered from the Old Testament, will any one say as much of the anonymous authors or compilers of Judges and Chronicles, of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs? We think not. Certainly, therefore, there would be nothing in the detection of some inaccuracies in the last mentioned writers, which involves such a falsification of their claims, as would amount to an impeachment of their general trustworthiness.

Besides, what is inspiration, taking our notions of it, not from human creeds or modern theorists, but from the Scriptures themselves? There is not a shadow of evidence that the sacred writers ever confounded the assumption of inspiration with the assumption of omniscience or infallibility. By a supernatural agency they were impelled to take certain courses; certain great and commanding ideas and purposes were borne into and impressed on their minds, and being filled with the heaven-descended light and influence, they acted, spoke, or wrote, as the occasion required, from this fulness. As regards all other subjects and objects they were left to the ordinary action of the human faculties; and accordingly they nowhere profess either in word or deed to be universally exempt from the mistakes and prejudices common to their nation and age. They were inspired as lawgivers or prophets; but nothing can

be more gratuitous than the assumption that they were, or that they directly or indirectly pretended to be inspired as astronomers, geologists, critics, political economists, or historians. Nay, more; even as regards their inspiration as lawgivers and prophets, the inspiration properly so called, as the very term imports, consisted in the fact that the knowledge was communicated to them supernaturally. If afterwards they undertook to communicate it to others, by drawing up a connected account of it and committing it to writing, they were left, from all that appears, in the recollection of the ideas, in the choice of language, in the arrangement of the topics, and in their own reasonings and illustrations, to their own unassisted faculties. The notion of two inspirations, first to know and afterwards to tell, or, in other words, the doctrine of what is technically called an inspiration of superintendence, exerted over the writers of the Bible considered merely as writers, and keeping them from all even the minutest errors, is a pure invention, a mere figment of theologians, resting on no evidence or authority. It probably originated in the same superstition, which led Jews and Christians of former days to presume, that no errors had found their way into the sacred text through the carelessness of transcribers, the maintenance of this doctrine being indispensable, as they conceived, to the honor of God's word, and its authority as an infallible guide, — a superstition, however, which the collation of manuscripts has done enough, we should hope, effectually to expose and repudiate.

Let it be observed, moreover, that in giving these views of inspiration we are as far as possible from advancing novel opinions, or inclining to neology or rationalism. They are substantially, we suppose, the common, or at least the prevailing views now entertained by scholars and enlightened men of all denominations. Thus Morus, a high authority among the Orthodox, rejects the assumption that the sacred writers were inspired, *as writers*, the Bible being called divine, and ascribed to God as its author, on account of the divine origin of the doctrine and prophecies which it contains.* Pareau, also, a translation of whose work on the Old Testament is inserted

* His words are: "propter doctrinam, quæ inest, singulariter procurante Deo traditam, et propter vaticinia, divinitus accepta." *Epitome Theologiæ Christianæ*. Proleg. § iv. 24.

in the *Biblical Cabinet*, an Orthodox publication,* and who is said in the Preface of the Translator to be "a decided and uncompromising enemy to the Rationalist system," admits, nevertheless, that "no one can, with any degree of probability, affirm that all things which are contained in the Old Testament are equally divinely inspired. For example, can those things be supposed to have been revealed by God to Moses, of which he himself had been an eye-witness, or of which he had otherwise the means of being correctly informed? Or did God inspire David in those Psalms, in which he uttered imprecations against his enemies?" And in another place: "Although no one can with any probability show, or accurately define, what in each instance should be ascribed to God, and what to Moses, of the doctrines and laws which we are accustomed to call by his name; it is, however, quite sufficient to an ingenuous friend of truth, that he be convinced that Moses would never have been the teacher and legislator which we now see him to be, had not God been present with him in an extraordinary manner."† Again, we are told by Dr. Planck, in a work translated and commended by Professor Turner, of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in New York, that "no one need be alarmed if he should hear it maintained, that in our holy scriptures, as well those of the New as those of the Old Testament, passages occasionally occur, in which even our Lord and his apostles accommodate to the views of their cotemporaries, and in fact when those views are erroneous. The idea from which, whether clearly or imperfectly conceived, such alarm may originate, and in some instances has originated, namely, that the sentiment is in the highest degree unworthy of the Holy Spirit, by whom those writings were inspired, can never in a general point of view justify him, for in general it is incorrect." "It cannot, by any construction but the most unnatural, be concealed, that our sacred writers, and even Christ himself and his apostles, did occasionally direct their instructions in reference to imperfect views current in their age, and even to views not strictly correct; and as little can it be concealed, that the latter, the apostles, sometimes brought for-

* By Thomas Clark, of Edinburgh. Pareau's *Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti* is translated by Dr. Forbes, a Presbyterian divine.

† *Principles of Interpretation of the Old Testament*. Vol. I. pp. 133, 138.

ward these views as their own, which most probably they held in common with their age."*

But we need not go to the continental writers. We are willing to accept the doctrine of inspiration as set forth by Dr. Powell, and recently quoted with approbation by Professor Pusey,† whom nobody will suspect of latitudinarianism. "And this, I conceive," he remarks in his Fourth Discourse, "is what we are to understand when it is said, that the Holy Scriptures are of *divine authority*, or were given by the *inspiration of God*. He who acquires knowledge, not by the use of any natural faculty, neither by immediate perception, nor by reasoning, nor by instruction, but in some inexplicable miraculous manner, is *inspired*. He who sets down in writing the knowledge so obtained, composes an *inspired work*. There appears to be no intelligible distinction between original revelation and inspiration. And yet men seem to have entertained an obscure notion of something more; otherwise they could not have been perplexed with so many difficulties concerning the accuracy and perfection of the Scriptures. They contain some few passages which appear to have no relation to religion, and many facts which the writers certainly knew in the ordinary way. Nor does there seem any reason to expect marks of the interposition of heaven in such matters. The great truths impressed on their minds neither obliterated their former knowledge, nor made it perfect." Archbishop Whately, in his Essays on some Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul, goes so far as even to impeach the honesty, the perfect ingenuousness of those divines, who fall in with the extravagant notions of inspiration still popular among the less informed. "The belief," says he, "in the plenary inspiration of scripture,—its being properly and literally the 'Word of God,' merely uttered, or committed to writing by the sacred penmen, in the very words supernaturally dictated to them, and the consequent belief in its complete and universal infallibility, not only on religious, but also on historical and philosophical points,—these notions, which prevail among a large portion of Christians, are probably encouraged or connived at by very many of those who do not, or at least *did* not originally, in their own hearts, enter-

* Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation, pp. 143, 144.

† In his Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of Rationalistic Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany, p. 81.

tain any such belief.”* We may add the opinion which Professor Stuart expresses respecting the inspiration of the New Testament writers, and which holds true, *a fortiori*, of the Old. “To my own mind nothing appears more certain, than that inspiration, in any respect whatever, was not abiding and uniform with the apostles, or any of the primitive Christians. To God’s only and beloved Son, and to him only, was it given to have the spirit without measure. This view of the subject,” he very properly adds, “frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. It assigns to the Savior the preëminence which is fully due. It accounts for the *mistakes* and *errors* of his apostles.”†

From such citations, and they might be multiplied to almost any extent, it appears that, according to views of this subject at once rational and scriptural, and now common among competent judges, the detection or admission of exceptional passages in the writings of Moses and the prophets does not have the effect to undermine their general credibility, or come necessarily into conflict with their claims to divine inspiration. There is nothing, therefore, in the belief that any or all of the writers of the Old Testament were inspired, which should hinder us from applying to their genuine works the sifting process of a sober and reverential, but exact criticism.

There is, however, another peculiarity pertaining to the Old Testament, in common with the New, as regards its *subject-matter*. It is not a history of natural occurrences alone: many of the facts which it records are professedly supernatural; and the obnoxious rule now under consideration may not be meant to be pushed any further than this; that so far as the miracles mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures are concerned, we must accept the whole or none. Such reasoners are willing to allow that a commentator would be consistent at least, who should treat the Old Testament history as we treat the histories of Herodotus and Livy; that is, discard *all* the marvels not resolvable into natural causes as alike incredible, and admit as much of what remains as we see fit. But if we begin by admitting one *bona fide* miracle, we must, they appear to think, in order to be consistent, admit them all. The ground taken, if we understand it, is, that miracles are not a proper subject of

* American Edition, p. 21.

† Commentary on the Romans, p. 79.

historical criticism; so that we have no means of making a selection.

But why, we would ask, are not miracles, when compared with one another, a proper subject of historical criticism, like other facts, whether regard be had to their intrinsic probability or improbability, or the external evidence on which they are held? Is it meant, in the first place, that one miracle, in itself considered, is just as probable, or just as improbable, as another? If so, the opinion must, we suppose, proceed on the assumption that as a miracle consists professedly in a variation from the laws of nature, nothing is left by which to judge of its relative fitness and credibility. But, without calling in question the general correctness of the popular doctrine of miracles, it is certain that such an assumption, by whomsoever entertained, argues a very defective and narrow understanding of that doctrine. Let it be that a miracle implies a departure from *the customary rules of the divine proceeding in the order of events and in the government of the world*, (which is all that is intended when men refer to what they call *the laws of nature*,) still this departure is never supposed to take place except in obedience to a higher law,—the law of the divine mind. It is not understood by any intelligent theist, that the Almighty is bound by the laws of nature, as such; but only that he chooses to conform to them, in the ordinary course of his providence, from that law of his own mind which impels him to do what is best for his creatures. Should an emergency arise, therefore,—and we should conclude beforehand, arguing on general principles alone, that such an emergency *might* arise,—in which, all things considered, it would be best for his creatures that he should deviate from his customary mode of action, it is plain that the only reason, which induces him ordinarily to observe what are called the laws of nature, must operate in this particular case to induce him to deviate from them. Still the deviation is not a lawless deviation. It can occur only when a subordinate and tributary law, if law it can be called, gives place to the higher law on which itself depends,—the law of the divine mind; to which, so far as it is known, the miracle may be referred, and by which its relative and antecedent probability or improbability, when compared with natural events or with other reputed miracles, may be judged of, and with more or less confidence determined.

Hence, in the application of the principles of the severest

historical criticism, there is no necessary inconsistency in admitting the Old Testament miracles, while we reject those of Herodotus and Livy, and this, too, supposing them to rest on equal or like external evidence ; for we may see reasons for a divine interposition in the former case, which we do not see in the latter, taking away or lessening the antecedent improbability of such an event, or changing the presumption against it into one in its favor. Hence, also, it does not follow because we admit the miracles of the Old Testament, that we must, in order to be consistent, admit them without distinction, discrimination, or exception ; for we may see a reason for the divine interposition in one case, which we do not see in another, or other marks of congruity or incongruity with the divine character. This would be true, even if there were no difference in the external evidence ; but is there none, as a farther ground of discrimination ? Who will say that a reputed miracle recorded in Judges, a book written we know not when or by whom, is supported by historical testimony as good in all respects as another recorded in the Pentateuch, the memory of which has also been kept alive from the beginning, not only by the record itself, but by enduring monuments and institutions growing out of it, or connected with it ? Here, too, let it be borne in mind, in regard to all the writers of the Old Testament, that inspiration, properly so called, according to what has been shown to be the common view of it as now held by scholars and intelligent men, has nothing to do with the history of miracles, any more than with the history of natural occurrences. They speak of the miracles in their capacity as historians merely ; they do but report faithfully what fell under their own observation, or was gathered from other accredited sources ; leaving us to make up our judgment in each particular case on that report, according to the light given us by the record itself, by subsequent discoveries in science, or by our worthiest conceptions of the divinity.

At the same time we do not assert here, or mean to imply, that any of the miracles of the Old Testament are to be regarded as supposititious. We are willing to take it for granted, in the present argument, that all are real and genuine. We only say that each must stand or fall by its own evidence ; so that, if a man, from any cause, entertains serious doubts about some of the miracles, this of itself need not hinder him from believing as consistently as ever, as firmly as ever, and as

religiously as ever in the rest, and in the divine and miraculous origin of the religion itself.

Indeed, it seems almost like a work of supererogation to set forth with so much formality a principle now conceded, we suppose, or assumed and acted on, by almost every intelligent and competent writer on the subject. Thus, to confine ourselves to those who are in favor with the Orthodox, Herder speaks as follows of one of the feats of Samson. "The story of the three hundred foxes, with the firebrands between their tails, is entirely after his manner; and the objections that have been made to it are not worthy of refutation. The foxes, or rather jackals of that country enter into houses, are easily taken, and an idle and frolicsome adventure like this would not fail to engage merry accomplices enough to carry it into effect. They had the sport. He looked to the result."* Jahn is, if possible, still more unceremonious in his disposition of the marvels told of the Hebrew Hercules. "Hence it appears," says he, "that the history of Samson is *everywhere* taken from poems in which his deeds were poetically represented, and therefore its expressions are not all to be forced to the most rigorous signification of which they are susceptible."† And the principal objection urged by his American translators against the statement is, that he makes it to be applicable to the history "everywhere." Hengstenberg himself, who on other occasions can find anything and everything in the Old Testament, even to the doctrine of the trinity, hesitates not to reduce the miracle of the standing still of the sun and moon at the command of Joshua to this: "The poet makes Joshua, in the midst of the battle near Gibeon, utter the wish, that the sun and moon may stand still; that is, in plain prose, that the sun may not go down, the day not come to an end, before the defeat of the enemy shall be completed. This wish is fulfilled; and the poet, in verse 13, narrates this, by continuing the same figure which he had begun: 'Joshua routed completely the foe, so that the day seemed to have been prolonged, and to have been equal to two.'"‡ Finally, to give one or two specimens from Milman's History of the Jews, a justly popular work, but written with great caution not to incur the suspicion of heresy or latitudina-

* Spirit of Hebrew Poetry. Translated by Dr. Marsh. Vol. II. p. 185.

† Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 242.

‡ Biblical Repository, Vol. III. p. 729.

rianism; the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt is thus given: "Lingering behind she was suffocated by the sulphureous vapors, and her body incrustated with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere." He also observes of the manner with which the Israelites were miraculously fed in the desert: "This is now clearly ascertained by Seetzen and Burckhardt to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June."*

Only one topic remains;—the dependence of our belief in Christianity on our belief in Judaism, and how far and in what way our confidence in the truth and accuracy of the New Testament is likely to be affected by the freedom and latitude of interpretation, which have prevailed of late in regard to the Old. How far, in other words, does the manner in which the Old Testament is appealed to or assumed in the New, make it necessary for us, as Christians, to believe the whole or none?

It has ever been the policy of infidels to assail the New Testament through the Old, making the former responsible for everything which the latter contains. In repelling these attacks some have inclined to the opposite and, as it seems to us, equally untenable extreme of denying that any necessary connexion subsists between the two dispensations. The Jewish scriptures, they tell us, may be a fable throughout, and yet the Christian scriptures be true, all that is said about the former in the latter being resolvable into the convenient doctrine of accommodation to Jewish prejudices. But the principle of accommodation, carried to the extent to which, on this supposition, it must have been carried by Jesus and his apostles, is hardly reconcilable either with their honesty or their dishonesty. It is not easily reconciled, we must think, with their honesty; at least if veracity and fair dealing make part of honesty, or if it be true, as these very writers say, that the damnation of those who do evil that good may come is just. And the difficulty of reconciling it with their dishonesty is about as great; for if, with a view to selfish or sinister ends, they had begun by artfully accommodating themselves to the national *hope* of a Messiah, they would have gone further still, and accommodated themselves to the national *idea* of the Messiah, as the only way in which the measure, considered as a stroke of policy, could be turned to any account.

* History of the Jews, Vol. II. pp. 15, 76.

The difficulty and perplexity on this point are sufficiently cleared up by making two obvious distinctions. In the first place, though the truth and divine origin of Judaism seem to be involved in Christianity, considered historically, and are beyond question assumed in the New Testament, it is nevertheless certain that the *proof* of Christianity does not depend in any way, or in any degree, on the proof of Judaism. "Though the new Covenant itself," observes Bishop Marsh in reference to his own method, "is founded on the old Covenant, the truth of the *record*, which conveys the new Covenant, was not founded on the truth of the record, which conveys the old Covenant. Both the authenticity and the credibility of the New Testament were established by arguments, which are wholly independent of the Old Testament."* The distinction, here so clearly marked, is of great importance, because it shows that, while Christianity itself may be said in some sense to be built on Judaism, our *belief* of Christianity is not built on the belief of Judaism; on the contrary, with us, the belief of Judaism is built on the belief of Christianity. We do not believe in the New Testament because we believe in the Old; but we believe in the Old Testament, so far at least as all supernatural interpositions are concerned, because we believe in the New. Accordingly most of the difficulties raised respecting the literary history of the Old Testament, its genuineness and authenticity included, have nothing to do with our belief in the divine and supernatural origin of Christianity, or even of Judaism itself. Take, for example, the much vexed question respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch: our principal reason for presuming on the general fidelity of the record is not found in the opinion, well or ill sustained, in a purely literary or critical point of view, that Moses wrote it, or the substance of it, with his own hand; but in the fact that it is repeatedly appealed to as authority by Jesus and his apostles, whose competency to judge in this matter is established from independent sources of evidence. In short, we possess so little real knowledge derived from other quarters respecting the Hebrew canon, that our faith in the Old Testament, and even in Judaism itself considered as a divine dispensation, may almost be said to be a mere deduction from the Christian scrip-

* Course of Lectures, containing a Description and Systematic Arrangement of the Several Branches of Divinity. Part VII. Lecture xxxi. p. 2.

tures. Hardly any doctrine, therefore, in regard to the Old Testament, or any part thereof, can be promulgated or admitted, which ought in reason to shake our confidence in Christianity; as at the worst it can but amount to this, — not that we have been wrong in our argument for Christianity, but only in one or more of our inferences from it.

The other distinction to be recognised and applied is the one hinted at above; namely, that we are never to confound the record of a religion with the religion itself. To us, we confess, it seems incontestable that the divine origin of Judaism is everywhere assumed or implied in the teachings of Jesus and his apostles; but the divine origin of Judaism is one thing, and the divine origin of its records, in every fragment and statement, even supposing them to be authentic, genuine, and credible, is quite another. Nobody, who uses language understandingly, will affirm that the latter is assumed or implied in the general idea of the Christian system, or in the general strain of its inculcations; and it is equally certain that it is nowhere expressly asserted in the New Testament. We are told, it is true, that “the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.”* This passage, however, whatever construction may be put upon it in other respects, refers exclusively to the prophets, and to them as regards their prophetic illumination. Again it is said, reference being had to the Old Testament, “All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.”† But here we are warned by the *Italics* that the substantive verb is supplied by the translators, the original reading, “All scripture, given by inspiration,” or “Every inspired scripture [or writing] is also profitable,” &c. The connexion also shows that the reference is to the prophetic scriptures only, and to these in their character as prophetic of the “salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.” Besides, giving the statement its broadest possible application, we have seen above, that inspiration never involved, and never was understood by the sacred writers to involve infallibility or omniscience.‡ That the reading of the Old Testament is still

* 2 Peter, i. 21.

† 2 Timothy, iii. 16.

‡ Archbishop Newcome, in his note on this passage, says: “Some render, All Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is profitable, &c.

"profitable" in many respects, is not doubted; but when particular passages are adduced as of ultimate authority and obligation among Christians, or when Christianity is made in any sense responsible for their correctness, it seems to be forgotten that our Lord has taught us expressly, that many things were said "to them of old time," which are not to be approved; that Moses connived at some acknowledged and flagrant abuses on account of "the hardness of their hearts;" and that according to the uniform doctrine of the New Testament, "the law made nothing perfect," but is only to be regarded as preparatory to "the bringing in of a better hope," which, when fully carried out, will make everything so.

So Syr., the three Arabic versions, Vulg., Grotius, the English Bible of 1549, &c. Thus it is not defined what scripture was divinely inspired." So Pyle: "'All writings that are of divine inspiration are profitable,' &c. One old Manuscript, with the Vulgar, Arab., and Syr. Versions, as also some fathers in their quotations of this passage, leave out the *καὶ*. I make no question, but 'the Scriptures by inspiration of God' have a particular reference to the prophecies concerning Christ and his kingdom, and the apostacy from it." The Editors of Goadby's Bible, 5th edition, say, in commenting on this verse, "It is to be noted that our translators here supplied the verb *is*, which greatly alters the sense; and when that happens to be the case, no word ought by any means to be supplied; for the greatest errors may be built upon the scriptures by this means. The true rendering of the words here is, 'All scripture given by inspiration of God, (or divine inspired,) is profitable for doctrine,' &c. For this word *and* is not found in the Manuscript called *Barb. L.*, nor in Clemens of Alexandria, nor in the Vulgar, Syriac, and Arabic versions, nor in Ambrose; nor in the Scholiast, which goes under the name of Jerome; nor in Theodorus Mopsuensis, nor in Palagius and others. And it is the opinion of learned men, that *and* was put into the text by some translator. It is a very different thing, whether we understand Paul to say, 'All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine,' &c.; or, 'All scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable,' &c." After observing that all *such* scripture is indeed profitable for instruction, they deny nevertheless that the text was intended to apply to the Jewish Scriptures generally. "And it appears plain enough," they add, "that under the general title of the Scriptures of the Old Testament are included some books which there is no reason to conclude were 'given by the inspiration of God.'" Grotius, also, *in loc.*, after sanctioning the literal rendering given above, goes on: "That scripture is called *divinely inspired*, which was written either by those who held the offices of prophets, as Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or by those who, although in different situations in life, were at certain times under a divine influence, as David and Daniel. To these were added some other books, either to fill up the history or the moral precepts, which

We have not been drawn into this discussion by the peculiarly bold and hazardous character of Dr. Palfrey's speculations; on the contrary, his Lectures are remarkable, in general, for their cautious and conservative tone and spirit, and for the learning and ingenuity with which many of the common and traditional opinions are sustained. But he advances some positions, which may strike general readers as novel, and they may be alarmed at their supposed tendency. For this reason we would do what we can to disabuse their minds of the error, on which such alarm is founded, and fortify them against the attempts of those who affect this alarm without feeling it, that they may create against the book, or its author, or the denomination to which he belongs, a groundless prejudice. Nor is this all. It is not to be denied or concealed, that the injudicious and mistaken friends of the Bible have insisted on the principle, "the whole or none," until they have tempted no small proportion of the enlightened part of the community, so far at least as the miracles of the Old Testament are concerned, to incline towards the latter alternative. We would do what we can to stay the further mischiefs of a doctrine, the evils of which must be more and more felt, as knowledge and a spirit of inquiry are diffused. At the same time we are not conscious that the difficulties in the Old Testament are, on any theory, either so numerous, or so formidable, as many seem to suppose. Most of the popular objections are obviously founded, as has been said, in popular ignorance or mistake, which Dr. Palfrey's work will doubtless do not a little to remove. Besides, allow, after all is said and done, that some of these difficulties still remain; it does not

were approved by the Great Synagogue, as best agreeing with those that were divinely inspired." Rosenmüller concurs, likewise, in the same rendering. As further evidence that the apostle did not refer, in this place, to the Jewish scriptures generally, we may add a remark of Bishop Barrington, given in Bowyer's Appendix. "The writers of the New Testament always distinguish between *γραφή* and *γραφαί* [scripture and scriptures]. The former signifies *some portion* of scripture, the latter the scripture in general. 'Every portion of scripture,' says the apostle, 'inspired by God, is profitable,' &c." Wakefield translates the passage thus: "Every writing, inspired by God, is useful for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." It is remarkable that the three earliest English versions from the original, (Tyndale's, Coverdale's, and Matthew's,) agree in the rendering we have adopted. The Genevan was the first to say, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God."

follow that they are in their own nature insuperable, but only that we cannot see how they can be got over. Perhaps a single and apparently unimportant fact has fallen out of the history of the world, which, could it be recovered, would make all things plain. At any rate, we feel that the question is not a vital one in a religious point of view; for come to what conclusion we may, we know that it does not and cannot touch the foundations of the Christian faith. Nevertheless the Old Testament, parts of it especially, may still be read with great advantage for its moral and devotional uses, so long as it is read in that spirit of reverence and intimate consciousness of the Deity, which its own pages breathe. Only one thing should be borne in mind, which cannot be better expressed than in the words of Milman: "In the works of writers hostile to revelation, the author has seen many objections, embarrassing to those who take up a narrow system of interpreting the Hebrew writings; to those who adopt a more rational latitude of exposition, none."*

We must, before concluding, give a specimen or two of the manner in which these writings are interpreted by Dr. Palfrey, and of the opinions entertained by him respecting the truth and authority of the record. The following is assigned, among other reasons, for believing in the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch:

"An argument, which strikes me as of great weight, but which is only to be set forth in an examination of the details, as we proceed, is that furnished by the arrangement of the materials. The work is written, for the most part, *in the manner of a journal*, as Moses would be extremely likely to write, but as an author composing in a later age would not be. Such an author would record the laws in one form, as he found them existing in the shape, which, after any modifications, they had taken, or as he would have them to exist. The Pentateuch not only, in connexion with laws, records the occasions which respectively gave rise to them; but, in later passages, it repeals laws prescribed in earlier, or changes, or abrogates them, a course in which it is not easily conceivable that any one should proceed, who did not live at the time of their enactment, repeal, or change. Of the same class is an argument, which may be drawn from such passages as that, for instance, near the end of Exodus, relating to the construction of the tabernacle. In what manner should we expect a writer to speak of that edifice, who lived after its

* Preface to the second edition of his History of the Jews.

construction? Should we entertain any doubt, that he would confine himself to describing its general arrangement and effect? But the manner in which it is treated in the passage, to which I refer, is of a very different character. In the first place, the most minute directions are given as to the manner of its construction, as one would give an order to mechanics respecting a work for which great solicitude was felt; and then, with the same particularity of detail, it is related how those orders were executed. I am at a loss to point to any principle in human nature, which will help us to account for such a composition, proceeding from any other person than one so situated as Moses is related to have been."* — pp. 86, 87.

Again, he says :

"I apprehend, that when a law is announced, prefaced by such words as 'the Lord spake unto Moses,' it is by no means necessary to understand the arrangement to have been originated (so to speak) in the Divine Mind, and then dictated to the Jewish leader, to be by him promulgated. In my view, the force of the language is equally well met, if we understand, when other considerations would incline us so to do, that the plan was a plan of Moses, who, by being encouraged to act on this kind of responsibility, would be in all respects better qualified for his office as leader of the people; that, having been devised by him, it was submitted for the divine approval; and that (this approval obtained) it was announced, in such words as I have quoted, as resting on the divine authority.

"This view of the force of those prefatory words is fully borne out by a comparison of two passages in the Pentateuch. In the book of Numbers we read, without any qualification, 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, "Send thou men that they may search the land of Canaan."' Arguing from these words, as is commonly done when they occur in other places, we should understand the arrangement to have been dictated in

"* The justness of the remark here made may be tested by a comparison with what is actually said on the subject in question by Josephus. Respecting the laws, that writer says, (*Antiq.*, lib. 4, cap. 8, § 4,) 'All things are written [by me] as he left them; nothing being added for the sake of ornament, nor which Moses did not leave. But I have made the innovation of *arranging everything agreeably to its subject*. For by him the things written were left without arrangement, just as he had obtained them severally from God.' In another place (lib. 3, cap. 6), Josephus describes the tabernacle; and the description which he gives is precisely of that kind, which, as above intimated, might be expected from a writer of any age subsequent to that of its erection."

the first instance by God to Moses. But, where the same incident is related in Deuteronomy, we find quite a different aspect put upon it. There we see Moses represented as saying to the people; 'Ye came near unto me every one of you and said, "We will send men before us, and they shall search out the land";—and the saying pleased me well, and I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe.' There is no discrepance between the two statements. The people proposed the measure to Moses. He waited for leave to execute it; and when such authority had been given, then he properly announced to the people, 'The Lord said unto Moses, send men,' &c. If such, by a subsequent explanation, is shown to have been the case, on an occasion where the words, taken alone, are naturally supposed to indicate that the arrangement was first communicated by God to Moses, there is no good reason to doubt that such was the process in other instances, where no similar explanation has made it known to us.

"An incident leading to the same conclusion occurs in a later part of the passage, which is the subject of this lecture.* An arrangement, of the most important character, relating to the people's social condition, is declared to have been made by Moses at the original suggestion of Jethro, his father-in-law; an arrangement amounting to no less, than the separation (in great part) of the office of judging from that of legislation, except in cases of appeals. Jethro, finding Moses too much burdened by the cares of administration, advises him to commit questions of minor concern to the discretion of inferior magistrates selected by him for the purpose, reserving only the more weighty matters for his personal cognizance. And it is remarkable that Jethro adds, 'If thou shalt do this thing, and *God command thee so*, then thou shalt be able to endure.' The implication is, that, though a suggestion of his own, it might and must become a divine command, before it could be carried into execution.

"We have here then specific cases, in which measures, spoken of as adopted under divine direction, appear, on further observation, to have had their original source in human sagacity. The principle of interpretation, thus ascertained, is of obvious importance. When we read, 'The Lord said unto Moses, "Establish and promulgate such or such a law,"' if that law appears to us trivial, or not thoroughly well devised to meet its end,—if we find even that it actually requires afterwards, on experiment, to be qualified, or extended, or repealed,—we are not debarred from supposing, that it had its origin in

* Ex. xviii. 13–26.

the imperfect wisdom of Moses, and that he was but permitted to adopt it in order that he might perceive its imperfections, and learn the political wisdom, which his station demanded, in seeing what defects it had failed to supply, and how a better measure was to be devised." — pp. 145–148.

The celebrated prediction in Deuteronomy xviii. 15–19 is supposed, in the work before us, to refer to the coming of the Messiah. We give the passage, without comment.

"After urging those admonitions against the pretended arts of enchantment, divination, and the like, which came under our notice in connexion with the subject of idolatry, he goes on to speak, if I interpret him correctly, of that future revelation (possessed by us in Christianity), destined to consummate the work of a moral renovation of the world, of which only the first step had been taken by his own labors. Having cautioned the people against the impostures of those foreigners, whose pretensions to intercourse with the spiritual world were connected with the falsehoods and follies of heathen belief and practice, I understand him as proceeding to give the assurance, (which the connexion naturally prompted,) that God would take care, that whatever communications of a supernatural character it was best they should have, should, in his own good time, be conveyed to them through one of their own number, as those already received by them had been; and that, in fact, God had made known to him, at the time of the first promulgation of the Law, that such was his purpose. 'I will raise them up,' he had said, 'a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.' — I am aware to what an extent this language of Moses has been understood as a reference, not to the founder of the future, better dispensation in particular, but to the line of teachers to be raised up, from time to time, in the Jewish Church. But I find no argument for this departure from the most obvious exposition, except the supposed improbability, that an event so far distant, as we know the Messiah's coming to have been, would be referred to in this connexion; an argument to which I cannot ascribe any force, inasmuch as it appears to me altogether natural for Moses to bid the Israelites await God's time for making further disclosures, whatever that time might be, instead of seeking them at forbidden sources. And, on the other hand, persuaded as I am, that Moses was the subject of supernatural illumination, I am more than prepared to believe, that he was informed of the character of his Law, as being (what we know it to have been) a preparatory dispensation; and

that he received that information (as he seems to declare) at the time when he received the Law itself. And, when I consider the extreme difficulty of applying to any person, or succession of persons, in the Jewish history, antecedent to the time of Jesus, the description of being *like unto Moses*, whose great distinction was, that he was the founder of a new religious system, supernaturally communicated to his own mind, and sustained by miraculous exhibitions of which he was the instrument; and when I remember how explicitly our Lord says of Moses, in a distinct reference to the evidences of his own claims, 'He wrote of me,' and observe, in the New Testament records, authoritative references to this passage, to which I can attach no other satisfactory meaning, — I do not hesitate to regard Moses as here predicting the mission of the finisher of his own incomplete work, the advent of JESUS CHRIST, THE SAVIOR OF THE WORLD."* — pp. 463 – 465.

* Deut. xviii. 15–22; compare John v. 46. — Whoever was the writer of the last verses of this book (xxxiv. 10–12), I cannot but think, that he looked upon the resemblance of the promised prophet to Moses, in the light in which I have above described it, when intimating the expectation, which, ever since their first leader's death, the nation had entertained, but which hitherto they had cherished only to be disappointed, he says, that 'there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses.' On the other hand, I cannot but regard the first martyr, Stephen, as distinctly implying (Acts vii. 37), and the apostle Peter as declaring, that, after the ages of delay, the prophet, promised by the lawgiver, at length had come. 'Moses truly,' are Peter's words, 'said unto the fathers, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me" "Unto you first, God, having raised up his son Jesus"' &c. (Acts iii. 22–26). — 'The Lord thy God shall raise up unto thee a prophet,' said Moses, 'unto him ye shall hearken' (15); and, when the prophet came, it was to these words, I conceive, that the remarkable attestation to him, by a miraculous voice, referred, when, on the mountain of transfiguration, the august form of the old lawgiver was revealed in communion with him; 'This is my beloved son, hear ye him' (Matt. xvii. 5; Mark ix. 7; Luke ix. 35). — The fact, which Moses communicates in 16–18, viz., that, at the time when the people prayed, that God would not appear to them in such terrific majesty, he had replied, that so it should be, and that whatever he should have to reveal, he would reveal through Moses, and, later, through a prophet like him, is not related in the parallel passage. (Compare Ex. xx. 18–22.) — False pretenders to the character of this prophet, should they present themselves, were to be detected (Deut. xviii. 21, 22) by their failure to give supernatural evidence of a supernatural commission; and they, as well as those who attempted to seduce the people to the worship of other deities, were to be put to death. (Compare xiii. 1–5.) It was under this law, I suppose, that the

It has been objected to Dr. Palfrey, that he has gone too far for some, and not far enough for others. This, we suppose, taken to the letter, must be true of every writer on the subject. But if it is meant, that, in order to meet and satisfy the conscious want of the great majority of intelligent readers, it was necessary for him to adopt an essentially different principle of interpretation,—that is, either to sustain in every particular the literal or the traditional construction, or else carry his rejection of it to the same extent with Geddes and the German Rationalists,—we are by no means prepared to concur in the justness of the criticism. Furthermore it is objected, that the Lectures do not manifest that familiarity with the modern literature of biblical interpretation which was to be desired and expected. It may be so. Without being dazzled by excessive admiration of the wisdom or the learning of the modern continental school of critics, and as little disposed as most persons to rate very highly that show of erudition, which consists in incumbering one's pages with quotations and references, we still think that more should have been done to make us acquainted with the history and present state of the discussion on many of the moot points here brought under review. We think, too, that the Notes, which are intended to supply to a certain extent the defect just mentioned, and also to go further into the more learned and recondite disquisitions, bear marks of hurried preparation, and of consequent inexactness and confusion. The work has doubtless suffered in this respect, as well as in others, from the fact that the body of it was prepared for the lecture-room; its publication being an after-thought. Still in its present form it is a valuable and opportune contribution to the theological literature of the country, and when completed will take precedence, we doubt not, of every other general treatise on the subject, in English, which has as yet appeared.

J. W.

Jews proposed to proceed with Jesus, as related in John xix. 7. If so, we have here an additional indication, that the nation understood these words of their Messiah."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

1. *A Complete Hebrew and English critical and pronouncing Dictionary on a new and improved Plan, containing all the Words in the Holy Bible, both Hebrew and Chaldee, with the Vowel Points, Prefixes and Affixes, as they stand in the Original Text: together with their Derivation, literal and etymological Meaning, as it occurs in every part of the Bible, and illustrated by numerous Citations from the Targums, Talmud, and Cognate Dialects.* By W. L. ROY, Professor of Oriental Languages in New York. 8vo. pp. 740. N. York. 1837. — 2. *A Defence of Roy's Hebrew Dictionary against a Review of it by Moses Stuart of Andover, published in the North American Review, for April, 1838.* 8vo. pp. 12. — It sometimes happens that reviewers are obliged to spend much time and patience — both their own and their readers' — on works that are intrinsically worthless, but which are ushered into the world with such flourishing of trumpets, and are accompanied by the names of so many god-parents, that it becomes necessary to bestow a degree of attention upon the production quite disproportionate to its real merits. In such case the common rule, that "what is much spoken against is not much despised," is suspended. The book named at the head of this notice belongs to this class. It professes to come from the "Professor of Oriental Languages in New York." It is dedicated to eight D. D.'s, one of them the Chancellor of the New York University; one a Bishop; another the President of a college! It is recommended by eleven A. M.'s, ten D. D.'s, by "the Rabbi of the Synagogue at New York," and by the "Chief Rabbi of the City of Jerusalem": not to mention the testimony of the "Evening Star," the "Millennial Harbinger," and the famous Joseph Wolff. Surely if there is any merit in great names, or any virtue in commendatory notices, this work must speedily supersede all others.

Two of our most respectable journals have already favored the public with long, elaborate, and highly valuable articles on this work; * one from the pen of Professor Stuart, the other from that of Mr. Nordheimer. Our notice, therefore, shall be brief.

In the Introduction to the Dictionary, the author tells us that all other Hebrew Lexicons are imperfect, defining only the roots of words, — or full of "peculiar and absurd notions." The latter is the fault of Gesenius's Lexicon, which, he adds, "does not contain half the words in the Hebrew language." There is,

* See the April Numbers of the North American Review and the Biblical Repository.

he says, as yet, no "competent Hebrew and English Lexicon." Mr. Roy certainly calculates too much on the ignorance of his readers. There are at least two Hebrew and English Lexicons well known in this community, which are far more perfect and correct than this.

Mr. Roy enumerates sixteen particulars in which his work is superior to all its predecessors. We shall briefly notice the most striking of them, giving a running commentary as we proceed. Its "definitions are more accurate." We need only consult a few passages to which he refers to see that this is not the case. "The words are placed in alphabetical order." So they are in the Lexicons of Gesenius and Gibbs. "The affixes are placed in the same passage with the words." A similar improvement would be effected in our own dictionaries, if under the word "wit" should be added "my wit," "thy wit," and so on, affixing all the personal pronouns and prepositions. A "huge advantage" truly. "The meaning of each word is given as it occurs in every part of the Bible." This is true of but very few words. Reference is made to the Targums, and "several quotations have been introduced from the Talmuds which *have never before been published*." In a *Lexicon*, we suppose; or has the author a new Talmud in manuscript? Perhaps, however, it is from the library of the "Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem," with the autograph Manuscript of Ezra. "Some of them (these quotations from the Talmuds) referring to the life, miracles, and crucifixion of our Savior." This is certainly new in a critical and pronouncing Dictionary of the Hebrew language. The author points out three passages where this "his own peculiar" light shines. In one of them, the most important truth which he extracted from these "excellent auxiliaries," is that "the Kabbala contains six hundred and thirty names of the Deity." In the next, the Talmud, he tells us, calls Jesus a "seducer," states that "he was crucified in the evening of the *Pesach*, [Passover]," and gives a foolish story from the Talmud relating to his trial. The last contains a conversation between an Egyptian Prince and Alexander the Great, which the English reader will find in Smith's translation of Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses. "Many disputed passages are accurately translated." This may be true, but we can find no instance in the articles to which he refers. "The book will serve as a concordance." But it will *not*, in one case out of ten, if we read aright. "The spiritual meaning is given." The following will serve as examples. בֶּן (Son), the Messiah. לֵאָוִי (a Lion), and כָּלֵב (a Dog), mean the Devil in the spiritual sense.

But to estimate the book fairly, we must examine it from the most favorable point of view ; for the author truly observes, " it is more easy to find fault with a literary work of this kind than to compose it." Now one of his eulogizers, who says the student will derive more advantage from this Lexicon than from any other extant, " that it contains passages from the Talmuds and other Rabbinical works, which are not only useful, but even *essential* in refuting certain objections to the Christian religion," states that Mr. Roy's " labors upon *two* words are worth more [to the student !] than the entire price of his Lexicon." Now these two words, *פֶּשַׁע* and *שָׂאֵל*, are the very articles we referred to above as containing nothing but follies of the Rabbins, which were well known before.

A few words will suffice for the " Defence of Roy's Dictionary." It was said of the Dictionary, that " human impudence could go no further " ; but it *has* gone further in the " Defence." The defender wishes to rebut the charges of Professor Stuart, but does not succeed in a single instance. Nay, he never fairly meets a single charge, but replies upon some quite immaterial point. He contents himself, for the most part, with accusing Professor Stuart, again and again, of stealing his Hebrew Grammar from Gesenius. Even if this charge were true, it is nothing to the point ; for the question is, whether the Reviewer has spoken the truth respecting the Dictionary, or not. The defender often, designedly, as it appears, misrepresents the statements of the reviewer, and his general unfairness in other respects is at once obvious. We will conclude as we began by adverting to the important matter of the recommendations. Professor Stuart had asked " the impertinent question," as the defender calls it, why Mr. Roy did not procure the recommendations of Messrs. Bush, Turner, Robinson, and Nordheimer, who are well known as oriental scholars, in the city where the Lexicon was published. He replies that " Dr. Robinson was in Boston at the time the specimen sheet was issued." " Professor Bush was the intimate friend of Dr. Robinson " ! Mr. Turner was fearful " it would make the study of Hebrew too common among the lower classes " !

Ministry at Large in Boston. By JOSEPH TUCKERMAN. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 327. — A discussion of the subject of this book was intended for our present Number, which unavoidable circumstances postpone to the next. Meanwhile we would call the public attention to so sincere and affectionate an exposition, by one who is the originator of the work he describes. There must be truth at least when a man gives

the literature of his own labors. And the facts and views presented should thrill the heart and rouse the effort of this community. No longer can we justify hardness because of the doubtful benefit of charitable bestowments. The ministry at large has proved a true alchemy for transmuting the riches of earth into the treasures of Heaven. No longer can we excuse our spiritual indolence, when so many among us are crying for the bread of life. We hope this book will be widely read, and the Author have the satisfaction of seeing that he has not labored in vain.

A Letter to the Presbytery of Wilmington. By J. MILLER M'KIM. Philadelphia. 1838. 12mo. pp. 39. — The object of this letter is to inform the Presbytery having jurisdiction over the writer, that his views of Christian doctrine have of late undergone such changes, as make it improper for him any longer to profess adherence to the standards of the Presbyterian church. The New School Party, to which he belonged, may well feel distrust of the old leaven of orthodoxy still mingled and still fermenting in their half-philosophical half-traditional expositions, when they see that it has had the effect to drive away a seeker after the truth so honest, modest, and clear-sighted. It is also remarkable that he finds his principal ground of dissent from Calvinism in that very doctrine which is held up, strangely enough, by most advocates of the system as its chief attraction and glory; — we mean, the doctrine of a *vicarious atonement*. But it would be doing injustice to our readers, as well as to Mr. M'Kim, not to give the history of his conversion to a more scriptural faith in his own words.

“I was educated from my infancy, as some of you know, under the auspices of the Presbyterian church. It was not, however, until about seven years since, that I felt sufficient interest in the subject of religion, as a matter of personal importance, formally to attach myself to a particular branch of it, as a regular member. About that time I united myself with the Presbyterian church of Carlisle; and about the same time believing it to be my duty to devote myself to the work of the ministry, I commenced a course of studies with that work in view, under the direction of my friend and pastor, Mr. George Duffield. As was to be expected, I adopted the doctrinal tenets of the church in which I had been reared, and with which alone I had any acquaintance. This I did the more readily, as I was accustomed, situated where I was, to the most liberal construction of these tenets. Mr. Duffield, I need not tell you, is a practical preacher, and at the same time a man of very philosophical mind; in his exhibitions of truth, therefore, public and private, the doctrines of Calvin were divested of much of their ancient severity, and presented in such a modified and modernized form as to make them appear rational and easy to be received. For several

years after I commenced my theological studies, nothing occurred to induce me to call in question the truth of any of these doctrines. On the contrary, all my reading, and all the preaching I heard, and the private instructions to which I listened, were of such a character as to confirm my belief of their correctness, and to assure me that those who rejected any of them were guilty of 'damnable and soul-ruining heresies.'

"In the course of my theological preparation, however, it so happened that circumstances, which I need not here mention, threw me into the society of persons of different denominations who were entire unbelievers in the peculiar doctrines of orthodoxy. Some of these were of a class which I had been accustomed to regard as heretics of the most pestiferous kind. Opportunities were afforded me of becoming acquainted with their moral character and governing principles. I found that the morals of many of them were of the purest and most irreproachable kind, and that they were under the practical influence of the most elevated religious sentiment. I was satisfied that in their actions, and in the feelings they manifested, these persons, whom I had been taught to regard as heretics, gave evidence of regeneration as unequivocal as I had ever seen manifested by the most orthodox — notwithstanding, they intelligently and deliberately denied the doctrine of a *vicarious atonement*. These things I found hard to reconcile. I conversed with them, and heard the reasons of their belief. My faith in my previous doctrinal views was shaken. My mind was put upon inquiry. I read, and thought, and sought for light upon the subject, with intense interest. For months my mind was in a continuous conflict. At times, I was so far satisfied of the fallacy of my former views, as to be on the point of announcing my unbelief. But a thought of the consequences of such a step would appal and deter me. I was in the midst of a community in which there was not one, to my knowledge, that would be likely to sympathize with me. Any intimations I had given of skepticism on these points were received with apparent horror by my acquaintances. I felt that if I yielded to the impulse of my temporary convictions, I should be cut off from Christian fellowship, my name would be cast out as evil, my opportunities of usefulness perhaps destroyed, and my fair prospects all blasted. I began to distrust my own judgment; and felt disposed to yield to the opinion of men, whom I deemed wiser and better than myself. I heard and read again on the side of orthodoxy. No longer submitting to the decisions of reason alone, as I had previously been disposed to do, I directed my attention more especially to the testimony of the Scriptures. This I collated with some care, and on the principles of interpretation, by which I was *then* governed, my conclusion was, that the doctrine of a vicarious atonement was scriptural, and, as a consequence, that I was bound to retain it. My mind was now sufficiently satisfied to be at rest; and I had nothing more to do but to reconcile as well as I could this doctrine with the dictates of reason. This, although I honestly believed in its truth, I was never able to do to my own satisfaction.

"Soon after this, I presented myself to the Presbytery of Carlisle as a candidate for licensure. It was at a time when party feeling ran high between the Old and New School, as the two divisions were designated. I was of the latter party, which in that Presbytery was greatly in the minor-

ity. Of course (as it has since appeared to me) my application for licensure was refused. The ostensible grounds of this refusal, was 'unsoundness in the faith;' and the proof of my 'unsoundness' was, that I taught that the regeneration of a sinner was *wholly a moral change*; that although produced by the Spirit, it was, notwithstanding, always *through the medium of truth*. This and all other doctrines which I held, I regarded as perfectly consistent with my profession of adherence to the Westminster confession of faith, as containing a system of the doctrines taught in the Scriptures.

"After being thus refused, my next step was to retire from the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Carlisle, and put myself under the care of your body. This I did; and I shall not soon forget the cordial and Christian spirit with which you received me, nor the kindness and friendly feeling you have ever since manifested towards me. Under your care I went through my preparatory exercises *de novo*, and in due time was licensed to preach; and after the lapse of some further time, when called to the charge of a congregation, as a stated 'supply,' was 'regularly ordained' by you as a minister of the gospel.

"I continued in my pastoral charge for about one year. During that time objections to the correctness of some of my views would frequently present themselves; these I made it a point to waive, however, feeling strong reluctance to go regularly into their examination. Particularly was I reluctant to grapple with the objections, my mind was ever and anon suggesting, to the popular doctrine of atonement; and I was never quite satisfied that my logic, when discussing this subject and attempting to dispose of these difficulties, was perfectly free from flaws. I always on such occasions found my task a hard one: still I was inclined to attribute this difficulty to defectiveness of my own mind, rather than unsoundness of the doctrine.

"At the expiration of the year before mentioned, believing that I might thereby better subserve the interests of humanity, and the cause of true religion, I accepted the appointment of agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The duties of this office obliged me to travel and mix extensively among persons of various shades of religious belief. My mind was again put upon inquiry — my former doubts and difficulties returned with redoubled force. Yielding to their suggestions, I was soon so far convinced of the untenableness of some of my former opinions, especially those which related to the doctrine of atonement, that I could not, when called upon to preach, feel free to inculcate the orthodox view of that subject. Feeling, however, the importance of not moving hastily, and believing that my difficulties might be removed by a further examination, I determined not to announce my skepticism until my mind was fully made up. In the mean time, when called upon to preach the word, I confined myself to subjects strictly practical — subjects on which my own mind was clear, and in which all could fully unite: this course I have pursued up to this time; but I feel under obligation now to change my ground — my mind is made up. After nearly two years' anxious thought and earnest inquiry, *I am fully satisfied that the popular doctrine of a vicarious atonement is a doctrine of human invention, and does not properly belong to the Christian religion.*"— pp. 4-9.

He is aware of the averted looks, the obloquy, and the ecclesiastical censures "a heretic" is likely to incur, all which he

hopes to be able to bear with becoming firmness, supported by an approving judgment and a conscience void of offence. Only one favor he asks; namely, that the reasons which have influenced and determined his conduct, and which are afterwards given, should be calmly read and seriously pondered by his judges.

Jesus and his Biographers. — Under this title a new edition of Mr. Furness's "Remarks on the Four Gospels" will soon appear. We copy from the Preface an account of the material alterations which the work has undergone.

"This volume varies from the 'Remarks on the Four Gospels' by the omission of two chapters of that work and the addition of eight. The subject of the Miracles is discussed anew; not that the former discussion is supposed to contain any material error, but because it appears less satisfactory and more liable to be misapprehended than that contained in the present work, and also because, since the publication of the Remarks, I have been aided by the criticisms of some whom I greatly respect, in giving, as I think, a better exposition of my views. Other omissions, and additions to a considerable extent have been made, (it is unnecessary to specify them,) by which the present becomes a new work rather than a new edition of the former one: and the adoption of another title is justified. It now makes some approach, very distant indeed, to a life of our Savior, and might perhaps be entitled, 'Hints toward a life of Jesus.'

"The additional matter contained in this volume might well, in regard to quantity, have been published separately. But, such is its character, I am unwilling to let it go forth, except in connexion with the former work, lest it should be thought that I aim to pull down when I am striving to build up, to explain away when I would reveal and establish the truth; a misconception so erroneous and unjust, that I would take all pains to guard against it, and one to which it is my hope that the reader, however he may dissent from me in particular instances, will not now be liable.

"Still to the purchasers of the former volume an apology is due for superseding it, as the present work does; an apology which it might not be easy to find, were pecuniary considerations the chief concern with them or with the writer. As it is, he seeks his justification for the manner in which he has published what he feels to be valuable truth, in the exceeding greatness of the theme, which must cause treatises, far more elaborate than any he has attempted, to be considered but as steps in the progress towards clearer and still clearer light."

Passages in Foreign Travel. By ISAAC APPLETON JEWETT. In two volumes. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1838. 12mo. pp. 319, 369. — Sprightly, graphic, always entertaining, often instructive, are these records of our countryman's travels in Europe. He does not give us a regular account of what he saw, and what he did, and whence and whither he went,

from day to day, but passages only, select portions of his journal, such as suited his own fancy, and as he thought would suit ours. He is not anxious that we should toil with him through all his marches, but when he finds a particularly pleasant spot, he sits down, and very agreeably directs our attention to the prominent points of the prospect, and descants by the summer hour on topics which they suggest to him. He has a ready eye to perceive what is peculiar to Europe, and wherein her ways differ from ours, and a candid judgment to make all due allowances on both sides. His taste is discriminating, whether in scenery, in music, in cookery, in oratory, in theatricals, or in manners; and his preferences, though not always as strongly expressed as we might wish, are on the right side, the side of simplicity and virtue. Sometimes, indeed, he talks too much like an epicure, as when he is taking us the rounds of the Paris eating-houses; sometimes his conversation has too much rattle in it; and sometimes he speaks lightly of matters which call for deep-toned reprobation. But, considering all things, we might look for and wait long, before we should find a more pleasant travelling companion.

An Historical Discourse, on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island. By JOHN CALLENDER, M. A. *With a Memoir of the Author; Biographical Notices of some of his distinguished Contemporaries; and Annotations and Original Documents, illustrative of the History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, from the first Settlement to the End of the first Century.* By ROMEO ELTON, M. A., F. S. U. S., &c. Providence: Knowles, Vose, & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 270. — Every one, who is at all acquainted with the early history of New England, knows the great value of Callender's Century Discourse, published in the year 1739, knows too the great rarity of the book, and must be very glad to see it now reprinted. If the Discourse had been merely reprinted, without note or addition, we should have been thankful to those who had thus brought it within the purchase of many who wish to own it. But published as it now is by the Rhode Island Historical Society, preceded by an interesting Memoir of the Author, accompanied with notes, and followed by a rich Appendix, we are doubly thankful, and can say unhesitatingly that it is a solid contribution to our literature, and that no American library should be without it. The Society has shown its patriotism, the editor his correct judgment and antiquarian research, and we trust that the public will show that it knows how to appreciate labors so well directed and so truly profitable.